Edited by THEA S. THORSEN AND STEPHEN HARRISON

ROMAN RECEPTIONS OF SAPPHO

CLASSICAL PRESENCES

OXFORD

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General Editors

LORNA HARDWICK JAMES I. PORTER

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Attempts to receive the texts, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome inevitably run the risk of appropriating the past in order to authenticate the present. Exploring the ways in which the classical past has been mapped over the centuries allows us to trace the avowal and disavowal of values and identities, old and new. Classical Presences brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

Roman Receptions of Sappho

EDITED BY
Thea S. Thorsen
and Stephen Harrison

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Frontispiece: 'Det svundne er en drøm' ('That which is gone is a dream'), photograph, installation, and painting by Ingvild Kjær Tofte

Preface

Sappho is a towering figure in Western culture, whose importance during the last decade has been confirmed by the sensational recoveries of new fragments of her poetry. The reception of Sappho's poetry as well as of her *persona* has a vital and captivating history of more than two thousand years. Since the 1980s, significant parts of Sappho's long-standing reception have been thoroughly examined by scholars. Yet, as Dimitrios Yatromanolakis points out in his *Oxford Bibliographies* article <www.oxfordbibliographies.com/> on Sappho: 'the highly complex and multileveled receptions of both the poetry and the figure of Sappho in Antiquity have until recently been underexplored.' The present volume joins scholars such as Yatromanolakis in taking further steps towards the recovery of Sappho's ancient reception in classical scholarship. It is the first volume to date which in its entirety is dedicated to her influence on Roman authors.[1] Strikingly, the richest part of Sappho's Roman reception coincides with what is known as the golden age of Latin literature. Consequently, the present volume takes us not only through a critical phase in the long history of Sappho's reception, namely that of ancient Rome, but also through some of the most central texts of Latin literature, which in turn have had great influence on the culture of post-classical periods, up until our own time.

The contributors to this volume merit our heartfelt thanks. Their patience over the last few years has been as generous as their chapters are enlightening. We are grateful to Guido Bastiannini and Angelo Casanova for their permission to reprint as our Chapter 8 Richard Hunter's contribution to their jointly edited volume *I papiri di Saffo e di Alceo, atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Firenze 8–9 giugno 2006* (2007, Firenze: Istituto papirologico "G. Vitelli": pp. 213–25), originally entitled 'Sappho and Latin Poetry'. Special thanks are also due to Armand D'Angour, Donncha O'Rourke, and Tony Woodman, who served in the capacity of advisors for this project at early stages.

[1] The dissertation of Thévenaz (2010), still to be published in the form of a monograph, will be another.

More recently, Llewelyn Morgan has kindly read through the manuscript and given helpful comments and criticisms. The implementation of their kind and learned advice has greatly improved this volume. We are grateful to the Research Council of Norway for generously funding the conference on which this volume is based. Thanks are also due to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for hosting the original colloquium in 2010. Student assistants Else Melvær Falkenstein and David Setane Gyberg have done much great work to help complete the volume, and we would like to express our heartfelt thanks to both. We are also deeply grateful to the series editors Lorna Hardwick and James Porter, as well as to the anonymous referees, for helpful comments and criticisms at crucial stages in the making of this book. Finally, at the Oxford University Press thanks are due to commissioning editor Charlotte Loveridge for firm and friendly guidance, and Tim Beck for taking us safely through the last stages of copyediting.

Thea Selliaas Thorsen
and Stephen Harrison

Trondheim/Oxford,
April 2018

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Abbreviations

Names and titles of ancient authors, works, and modern reference works are abbreviated according to *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*).

Titles of journals are abbreviated according to *L'année philologique*.

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Notes on Texts and Translations

For the text of Sappho, Eva Maria Voigt's critical edition (1971) has been used throughout, with occasional additions, mainly from the critical editions of Edgar Lobel and Denys Page (1955) and David Campbell's in the Loeb Classical Library series (1982). For the newest Sappho papyri, the editions of Dirk Obbink have been used (2009, 2016a). Unless otherwise stated, the translations are taken, frequently in a modified form, from the Loeb Classical Library.

Introduction

Ecce Sappho

Thea S. Thorsen

Sappho is an exemplary case in the history of classical receptions. There are three prominent reasons for this. Firstly, Sappho is associated with some of the earliest poetry in the classical tradition, which makes her reception history one of the longest we know of, almost rivalling that of Homer.[1] Furthermore, Sappho's poetry promotes ideologically challenging concepts such as female authority and homoeroticism, which have prompted very conspicuous expressions of strategies to deal with issues of gender and sexuality, revealing the values of the societies that have received her works through time. In this respect, Sappho's reception certainly does rival that of Homer. Finally, Sappho's legacy has been, and continues to be, very well explored from the perspective of reception studies: important investigations have been made into responses both to her as poet-figure and to her poetry in the earliest centuries following her *floruit* in Greece, in the European Renaissance, the early modern world, the eighteenth century, and over the period since then, with ever-growing global reach—through to our own time.[2]

[1] Kivilo (2010, p. 187) sums up the dating of Sappho's life as follows: 'Ancient authors synchronized Sappho with the Egyptian pharaohs Mycerinus, Amasis and Psammetichus, the Lydian king Alyattes, the tyrant Pittacus of Lesbos, and with the poets Alcaeus, Anacreon, Archilochus, Stesichorus and Hipponax, placing her therefore in a time span between ca. 2500 BC and the second part of the sixth century BC. Her absolute dates in ancient sources pin her, however, clearly to the turn of the seventh and sixth century BC.'

[2] For a cursory, and now dated, yet wide-ranging survey of Sappho's reception from her own time up until the end of the nineteenth century, see Robinson (1924); and, briefly,

One of the few eras in Sappho's longstanding reception history that has not been systematically explored before this volume is the Roman period.[3] As Richard Hunter, in an article originally published in 2007 and reprinted in this volume, points out: 'the reception of Sappho in Roman poetry is, perhaps unexpectedly, a still under-explored subject.'[4] And the omission is, indeed, somewhat of a paradox. The neglect of Sappho's Roman reception has not been due to an ignorance of the fact that her poetry was influential in ancient Rome. On the contrary, the literary responses of Catullus and Horace are among the most famous and most studied receptions of Sappho. Beyond that, however, research on Sappho's Roman receptions has been limited and sparse. To many, it may therefore come as a surprise that receptions of Sappho can be traced in more than eighteen Roman poets,[5] among them many of the most central authors in the history of Latin literature. Surely, no other Greek poet, except—again—Homer, and possibly Callimachus, can rival the impact of Sappho at Rome. This fact is extremely important, and cries

Malcovati (1966), cf. also Patrick (1912) and Schadewald (1950). For a more sophisticated general overview of the dynamics of Sappho's reception history, see Reynolds (2000) and, more briefly, Greer (1995b), Most (1996), and Johnson (2007, pp. 19–41). For her early Greek reception, see Yatromanolakis (2007); for English receptions, see Tomory (1989), Prins (1999), Andreadis (2001), and Reynolds (2003); for her French reception, see DeJean (1989a); and for Sappho and the rise of German nationalism, see DeJean (1989b), discussing *inter alia* Welcker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Robinson; see below *passim*. For further receptions, mainly in German, see Rüdiger (1933). See Gubar (1996) for Sappho's impact on modern writers, as well as Greene (1996 *passim*). Saake (1972) provides an overview of Sappho's scholarly reception from her *editio princeps* by Heinrichus Stephanus 1504 up until Saake's own book, in addition to an overview of datable elements in Sappho's biography and a presentation of qualities of her art. Fabre-Serris (2016) focuses on translations into French between the seventeenth and early twentieth century.

[3] Another such period is that of the Middle Ages, during which the identification of Sappho as a woman and a poet in the extremely influential *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville must have been crucial, since this work appears to have been almost as widely circulated as the Bible; see Barney (2006, pp. 24–6); cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 394–5. Furthermore, the Byzantine monk and scholar Michael Psellus (1017/18–*c.*1087) refers to Sappho as a part of a scholarly curriculum at *Orationes panegyricae* 4.224–38, the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena (1083–1153) twice refers to Sappho in her *Alexiad* (14.6; 15.9), a Byzantine novelist alludes to her (cf. Cataudella 1965, for more on Byzantium and Sappho, see also Garzya (1971), and Petrarch seems to allude to her (*Triumphus Cupidinis* IV.25, and *Bucolicum carmen* 10.89–91, cf. Martellotti (1968, pp. 50–1)); Boccaccio dedicates a section to her in *De mulieribus claris* (XLVII), as does Christine de Pizan in her *Livre de la cité des dames* (1.30), cf. Brown-Grant (1999, pp. 60–1).

[4] See Hunter, Chapter 8, p. 151. Cf. Thévenaz (2010).

[5] For these poets, see nn. 82–93.

out for a systematic approach to Sappho's Roman reception. This is the aim of the present volume,[6] which focuses on the poetry of the central period of Roman literary history, from the time of Lucretius to that of Martial.

Fundamental to classical reception studies is the assumption that different times are alive to different aspects of the past. One of the greatest scholarly advantages of our time is that it is less hampered than earlier periods by taboos regarding love, sex, and gender, and by prejudices against women framing them as inferior to men. Today we easily dismiss the views of nineteenth-century scholars such as Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868), who claimed that Sappho was not one of the ἑταιρίστριαι, adopting a term taken from Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium*.[7] This is the term used to refer to '"lesbians" in modern idiom', and the Platonic allusion is 'the only surviving passage from classical Attic literature which acknowledges the existence of female homosexuality'.[8] In our own day, the significance of the contributions of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931) to the field of Greek and indeed Sapphic scholarship is uncontested; but we can scarcely follow his view that it is 'blasphemy' to conceive Sappho's poetry as homoerotic.[9] We might smile dismissively at David M. Robinson's defence of the virtue of Sappho in his book *Sappho and her Influence* (1924),[10] in which he outdoes Welcker by claiming that 'Sappho is never erotic'.[11] We might even blame Stephen Bleecker Luce for being too cautious in his challenge to Robinson's argument in his review of the book:

> Mention has been made of Professor Robinson's admiration for the character of Sappho. This leads us to that part of the book, which is most certain to provoke discussion—the defence of her virtue. A strong case is established for the chastity of her life; and there is bitter denunciation for the attacks upon her good name

[6] As is evident from the survey on p. 19, however, the approach to Sappho's Roman reception in this volume is not exhaustive.

[7] Welcker (1816, p. 76), and Pl. *Symp.* 191e; cf. DeJean (1989b).

[8] Dover (1980, p. 118).

[9] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913, p. 70 'es auf mich wie eine fortgesetzte Blasphemie wirkt [daß] . . . P. L.[ouÿs] faßt Sapphos Dichtung als Tribadenpoesie'). When Pierre Louÿs (1870–1925) published an alleged edition (under the pseudonym G. Heim ('S. Ecret') of *Les chansons de Bilitis* (1894), in which a woman with short hair and *hanches étroites* ('narrow hips') potentially could be identified as Psappha (poem 48), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was provoked to write substantial parts of his *Sappho und Simonides* (1913) where he defended Sappho's honour. Cf. DeJean (1989b).

[10] Robinson (1924, pp. 43–5). Cf. DeJean (1989b).

[11] Robinson (1924, p. 43).

that have been made from antiquity down to the present day. I find myself in entire accord with Professor Robinson on this point; but it must be borne in mind that much can be said on the other side, and that the argument that only a pure woman could have produced such beautiful verse is not necessarily founded on fact. We all admire the beauty and power of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, for example, but we do not inquire too closely into the private morals of Oscar Wilde![12]

It is however a recent privilege not to have to rescue Sappho by appealing to her epithalamia, and to claim that the love she describes from a female point of view is reserved for a husband in wedlock, which was the strategy of those three generations of linked teachers and students: Welcker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Robinson.[13] It is only thirty or forty years since laws such as those that condemned Oscar Wilde to imprisonment were abolished in many countries, and although much has happened since, ideas of the equal value of homo- and heterosexuals or of men and women are still precarious. Nevertheless, the relatively wide pockets of liberal ideology of our time provide us with the scholarly advantage that we can see what previous generations of philologists have not been able to—or, perhaps, what they have had to consciously ignore, not least in the case of Sappho and her Roman reception.

Sappho: A Classical Presence in Antiquity

The present book belongs to the Classical Presences series. This series is mainly dedicated to receptions in postclassical periods of works and ideas that were generated during antiquity. Both Sappho and the Roman poets explored in this volume belong to classical antiquity itself. So, how does the present book differ from traditional classical scholarship and contribute to the field of classical reception studies? The question is rendered more acute by the fact that most of the literature referred to in this book comes from what may be considered the traditional field of classics. As shall become clear, however, traditional scholarship and the theoretical awareness advanced by classical reception studies merge in this book, yielding a novel approach to both

[12] Luce (1925, p. 104).

[13] This line of succession is attested in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913, *passim*) and at the beginning of Robinson (1924).

Sappho and the Roman poets studied, which has the potential to enrich both traditional scholarship and reception studies.

To ask why particular authors and works have been chosen for special attention, and to consider how this may reflect the cultural context of the receivers—these processes are fundamental to the field of reception studies. And such questions are as relevant in the case of the receptions of an ancient author in later antiquity, as they are in the case of the reception of an ancient author in postclassical periods. The potential enrichment offered when reception studies are applied to ancient authors within the framework of antiquity itself has already been demonstrated by a number of publications, such as Barbara Graziosi's *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic*,[14] Maarit Kivilo's *Early Greek Poets' Lives: The Shaping of the Tradition*,[15] and the second, revised edition of Mary Lefkowitz's milestone study *The Lives of the Greek Poets*.[16]

Tellingly, in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, edited by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, James Porter dedicates a whole section to 'reception in antiquity' in his chapter on the future prospects of reception studies.[17] Here, Porter makes the important point that '[t]o assume that reception is a symptom of historical belatedness and only a late phenomenon in the ancient civilized world is to misgauge the phenomenon altogether.'[18] In some respects it may even be reasonably argued that the reception of ancient authors within the period of antiquity is as important as, if not more important than, the reception of the same authors in postclassical periods, as postclassical receptions tend to be informed not only by the ancient author, but also by that ancient author's ancient reception.

This is certainly true for much of the postclassical reception of Sappho. Indeed, her Roman reception has conditioned much of the history of Sappho scholarship, not least that which was produced during the founding phase of classical philology as a modern scholarly discipline, from the 1850s onwards. The numerous editions, commentaries, and other contributions to the establishment of classical texts that were produced during this period still constitute the bedrock of contemporary classical studies. As will be further explored in Chapter 1, the fragments of Sappho as we know them are actually not particularly sexual, which is

[14] Graziosi (2002). [15] Kivilo (2010). [16] Lefkowitz (2012).
[17] Porter (2008, p. 471). [18] Porter (2008, p. 473).

why scholars such as Welcker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Robinson felt justified in vindicating Sappho's chastity—in accordance with the ideals of their own times.[19] In fact, it is first and foremost Sappho's *Roman* reception that tells a different story, in which she is clearly associated with homoerotics, and in which poetry and sex merge so much so that it becomes impossible to tell them apart. The poem *Heroides* 15, also known as *Epistula Sapphus* ('Sappho's letter'), is exemplary in this regard: here, Sappho mentions all the girls that she *non sine crimine amaui* (Ov. *Her.* 15.19, 'loved not without reproach') at the same time as she refers to poetry-making and lovemaking as a single *amoris opus* (Ov. *Her.* 15.46, 'work of love').[20] Tellingly, the authenticity of *Heroides* 15, which Ovid claims to have written as part of his single *Heroides* (cf. *Am.* 2.18.26), has been disputed for more than a hundred and fifty years.[21] The history of the debate over this poem's authenticity thus coincides with—and epitomizes—a general tendency in classical scholarship, which tries to liberate Sappho from such Roman 'distortions'.[22] But are these receptions really 'distortions' in the sense of manipulative inventions? Or do they preserve important aspects of the legacy of Sappho? Whatever the answers to these questions, the fact remains that the Romans appear to have known a more erotic Sappho than we now have access to through her extant fragments, which makes an investigation into this particular part of her reception all the more important.

There are, furthermore, three other principal reasons that Sappho may be considered a classical presence in the later period of antiquity that ran from the late Roman republic, when Lucretius was active, to the reign of the emperor Trajan, when Martial died. The first of these reasons is the chronological gap between Sappho and the Roman poets, which is considerable. There is in fact a shorter distance in time between Vergil and Augustine (*c.*450 years) than between Sappho and Lucretius (*c.*550 years), and a longer distance in time between Sappho and Martial (*c.*700 years) than between Boccaccio and the cinematic adaptation of his *Decameron*

[19] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 39, and Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 115, n. 38.
[20] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 29–30.
[21] For the authenticity debate, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 29–30, Thorsen (2014a, pp. 96–122).
[22] See e.g. Welcker (1816), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913), and Robinson (1924).

by Pier Paolo Pasolini (*c.*600 years). Next, there is the difference in language. Not only is the poetry of Sappho in Greek, a different language from the Latin of the Roman poets; it is in the difficult Aeolian dialect. Finally, there is a difference where gender is concerned: Sappho is famously a woman poet, while the Roman poets discussed at length in this book are all male.

There are at least two important observations to be made from this brief outline of some of the prominent differences between Sappho and her Roman receivers. Firstly, the combination of these differences render Sappho unique: while a number of poets were active in the archaic period, at the same time as Sappho, and while all Greek poets, by whom many Roman poets were inspired, naturally used Greek (and frequently used difficult Greek dialects), and while some of these poets were even women, only Sappho represents the combination of all these features: of such a distant separation in time, a difficult Greek dialect, and a feminine identity. The next, important observation to be made is that while one might easily assume that the combination of such elements would have hampered Sappho's presence in later times, this is clearly not the case; on the contrary, as each of the chapters in this book demonstrates, these elements of difference appear to have been productive points of contact between Sappho and poets active at Rome, especially in the period between Lucretius and Martial.

Ancient Receptions: Theories and Metaphors

Such points of contact as those between Sappho and Roman poets may be theorized within reception studies either according to a 'push-model', which focuses on the preserving transmission of classical texts and ideas through time,[23] or according to a 'pull-model', which focuses on the manipulative reception of classical culture by new generations in later historical settings.[24] Both models appear relevant not only to receptions of classical authors in postclassical periods, but also to the reception of a classical author (such as Sappho) in later antiquity (in this case, ancient Rome). However, once an instance of reception is detected, it is difficult to establish whether it should be characterized as one of pushing or

[23] See Martindale (2005) and (2010). [24] Goldhill (2010).

pulling. This problem becomes all the more acute if one returns to the basic questions of reception studies, such as 'why Sappho in ancient Rome?' One reply may be that, for the time during which the 'Roman cultural revolution' took place,[25] Sappho, perhaps more than any other figure, serves to embody the truth of Horace's famous line, *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit* (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156, 'captured Greece captured her fierce victor').[26] Now, how are we to distinguish between the push- and pull-model in this case? Just as the basic questions in reception studies (e.g. 'why this ancient author at this later point in time?') are relevant to the reception of ancient authors in later antiquity, so also are the theoretical issues underlying receptions in general. The push- and pull-theories are applicable, yet difficult to disentangle. In fact, in the words of Porter, 'transmission and reception are not two faces of a single coin. Rather they are two names for the self-same activity.'[27]

Notably, the theory of classical reception studies has recently been offered a *tertium quid*,[28] as Shane Butler has marked out a third path for 'contextualizing some of what we all seem to have been doing, all along':[29] Deep Classics. Deep Classics is founded on an existing concept in geology, known as Deep Time, designed to fathom a staggering paradox: a time span so vast that most of it belongs to pre-human history, and at the same time so concrete that it can appear before us in the form of sedimentary layers of age-old stone that not only can be touched by the human hand, but can also be studied and—at least a little at a time—understood by the human mind. The extant, present, and tangible stone that preserves the depth of time in distinct layers of sediment belonging to separate ages thus offers a powerful metaphor for studies of the past, including classical antiquity.[30] It captures the paradox of standing 'face to face with almost unthinkable time-spans'[31] and embodies the simultaneous presence of ages that in reality never

[25] Cf. Habinek and Schiesaro (1997).

[26] I owe this observation to Stephen Harrison.

[27] Porter (2008, p. 473). [28] Butler (2016a). [29] Butler (2016b, p. 3).

[30] Butler presents other metaphors for Deep Classics as well: Heinrich Schliemann's diagram of the excavations of Troy, the stemma of Friedrich Rietschl's edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Prooimium antiquitatum Romanorum*, and Sigmund Freud's comparison between the unconscious and Rome, all of which—in their way—exemplify the depth of classics: see Butler (2016b).

[31] Butler (2016b, p. 4).

occurred at the same time, but now do—anachronistically, as it were, like one distinct layer of stone next to another in the bedrock.

The metaphor is appropriate to certain crucial aspects in the history of Sappho, exemplified especially by the recoveries of new Sappho papyri during the last decade:[32] here a preserved layer of her poetry—in the form of recently retrieved or supplemented papyri—has remained practically untouched for centuries and is now revealed for us to see, almost to touch (in the form of reproductions, for most of us), and to engage with mentally. Even in terms of less materially intact forms of reception than the recovery of papyri, such as the poetic reception of Sappho at Rome, the metaphor holds some truth, as there are aspects that will be less known to us today that have remained 'untouched' for some time, but that will nevertheless enrich our understanding of our past and ourselves when they are brought to light through scholarly endeavours.

The metaphor of sedimentary bedrock suggests something hard, discernible, and scientific, but also petrified and dead. By contrast, even Butler's own contribution to his volume, entitled 'Homer's Deep', reveals qualities of the reception process that show themselves to be very much alive. The dynamic, metamorphic, miraculously *living* embrace of pasts merging with presences is particularly prominent in the case of Sappho. If only for the sake of juxtaposing a model that encompasses these more living aspects of receptions with the geological metaphor of Deep Classics, I would like to evoke the metaphor of art, exemplified by the image in the frontispiece of this book: a work entitled 'That which is gone is a dream' ('Det svundne er en drøm'), by the Norwegian figurative artist Ingvild Kjær Tofte. Three main elements in this image are worth pausing over as we contemplate the theoretical issues underlying the classical presence of Sappho in antiquity, in the postclassical tradition and in the Sappho scholarship of today: the shadow, the flower, and, finally, the bottle. These elements are simultaneously present via several layers of artistic media, consisting of photography, installation, and painting. Together, these three layers represent a considerable depth in time: the installation involves the non-human creation of a flower, which belongs to the natural world; the painting represents an artistic activity, and one

[32] Gronewald and Daniel (2004a), (2004b), Obbink (2009), (2014), (2016a), (2016b), Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014), and Bierl and Lardinois (2016), see also Thorsen, Chapter 13.

that is among the oldest attested in human history; and finally, the photograph represents a way of fixing time, which has been under the command of humans for a relatively short time, and which represents the technological developments of the present.

Notably, it is the painting, the most classic of the art forms involved, that represents the shadow. The metaphor of the shadow has been used to communicate the dynamics of reception in some prominent works of scholarship, such as Richard Hunter's *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome*[33] (cf. Prop. 3.1.1), and Harrison's contribution to this volume (Chapter 7), which picks up on the same metaphor in its title 'Shades of Sappho in Vergil', and is also elegantly embodied by the link between Sapphic allusions and the lengthening shades in Vergil's sixth and tenth *Eclogues*.[34] It is an appropriate metaphor for reception, as a shadow is evidence for light, which outlines the contours of a figure that may be distant, and yet is not absent; it provides coolness that can variously be felt as refreshing or freezing for those who find themselves in its shade; it is animate, moving and changing. Viewed from certain perspectives, the metaphor seems to fit the push-model of the classical tradition, in that the light emanates from antiquity, casting shadows into postclassical times, such as our own. Yet the work reproduced on the cover of this volume employs the image of the shadow in a particularly active manner, suitable also for the pull-model of reception studies, inasmuch as this shadow is not real; it is fictitious, a painting that nonetheless appears life-like and perfect in its completeness.

Were it not for the flower, whose withered form does not match that of the complete, elegant shadow, we would hardly have noticed the illusory nature of the painting. As noted above, the flower belongs, like the geological metaphor of Deep Classics, to the natural world. However, unlike rock and stone, a flower is not lifeless matter; it is organic. The organic aspect of the metaphor of the flower is important. A flower is a witness to life. What is more, a flower is an ancient life form, which is important from the point of view of reception studies: there were flowers in the world of Sappho—a fact to which both her poetry and her reception amply testify, as Laurel Fulkerson demonstrates in Chapter 3—and

[33] Hunter (2006). [34] See Harrison, Chapter 7.

there are flowers now. The flower, so important to Sapphic poetry, may thus function as a reminder of the fact that much of what surrounded the humans of the past is still present to us now: that we have much in common.

With regard to reception studies, it is also striking that the painted shadow seems to match the shadow that the flower must have cast when it was in full bloom. The painted illusion of the shadow may thus reflect a reality of the past. And as with the image by Kjær Tofte, in which the withered shape of the flower makes it hard to determine whether the painted, fictitious shadow on the wall actually matched the original form of the flower or not, so scholars, especially those who study the fragmentary remains of Sappho, are left to speculate on the original, full shape of what we possess only in various states of deterioration.

The reality of the present, as far as the flower in the image is concerned, is that it is well into the process of decay. The perishable nature of our world, of all that was once endowed with life, is a major theme in art, not least that of Sappho, most notably fr. 58, which, thanks to the 2004 discovery of new papyrus evidence, is now more complete than it has been for centuries, and which in this volume is explored by Stephen Heyworth in Chapter 10.[35] In this poem, the speaker bemoans her decrepit physique, which hinders her from dancing with her younger companions. Then she brings the couple of Dawn and Tithonus into the picture, in an intricate comparison. The human Tithonus, for whom the goddess Dawn had procured eternal life, but not eternal youth, cannot die. His fate is to grow ever older, and thus to fulfil Sappho's proverbial statement that *ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι* (fr. 58.8, 'it is not possible to be a human and ageless and undecaying').

But what *is* possible for a human like Sappho? The ultimate decay is death. Death is, however, also important as a contrast to life, especially considered in relation to one of the essential qualities of art: its ability to overcome the decline of its own contemporary world and continue to live miraculously in ever-new settings. Defying death through art is a recurrent theme in the poetry of Sappho.[36] And in this context not only the shadow and the flower in the cover image seem relevant, but the bottle as well. However discreetly, the bottle, which seems to have contained

[35] See Heyworth, Chapter 10, pp. 198–9.
[36] Cf. e.g. Sappho frr. 55, 65, 147, and 150 Voigt.

sparkling wine, prompts sensual associations with luxury, exuberance, and celebration. While in one sense focusing on illusion and decay, two elements that can prove challengingly real in reception studies, the image on the cover of this book might also be regarded as a complex and sumptuous celebration of the power of the death-defying life embodied in art. In this respect, Kjær Tofte's image may be said to resemble Sappho's restored fragments, and especially the completely new one from 2004, referred to as 'Posthumous honour for Sappho' by Martin West and 'pre-Cologne fr. 58' by Diane Rayor and André Lardinois:[37] here, one might compare West's supplements with the fictitious, yet perfect shadow of Kjær Tofte; the precious, and at the same time desperately fragmented remains of Sappho's poetry, whose meaning is often hard to grasp,[38] with the decrepit beauty of the withered flower; and, finally, the celebration of her death-defying song, still to be appreciated in our day, with the gilded bottle's testimony to festivities, *thalia*, both past and present:

] νῦν θαλ[ί]α πα[ρέστω
] νέρθε δὲ γᾶς περ[ίσχ]οι
κλέος μέγα Μοίσει]ον ἔχοισαν γέρας ὡς [ἔ]οικεν,
πάντᾱι δέ με θαυμά]ζοῖεν, ὡς νῦν ἐπί γᾶς ἔοισαν
κάλεισι χελίδω] λιγύραν, [α]ἴ κεν ἔλοισα πᾶκτιν
ἢ βάρβιτον ἢ τάνδε χε]λύνναν κάλα, Μοῖσ', ἀείδω.

Sappho, 'Posthumous honour for Sappho' / pre-Cologne fr. 58

> . . . be present now, festivities, . . . under the earth may [great fame with the privilege of the Muses surround me], as I receive the honour that is fitting; may they, everywhere, adm]ire [me], as now, when I am above the earth; they call me swallow of] harmonious tones, when I grasp the harp or the barbitos lyre or this tortoise sh]ell and, beautiful Muse, I sing.[39]

The presence of Sappho thus remains mediated, whether by the deceptive perfection of a supplement such as that of modern scholars or through the artistic reception of Roman poets. Either way, looking at Romans looking at Sappho is challenging. For what can we see—through

[37] Rayor and Lardinois (2014).

[38] As seen from the reading *κάλα, Μοῖσ'*, which I retain, but which West replaces with *θαλάμοις* ('in the chambers'), as Sappho never refers to the Muse in the singular in her other extant poetry; see however Di Benedetto (2005, p. 11).

[39] My translation; I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for helpful comments.

fragmentation and supplementation—of what they saw? Is it even possible to see something that resembles it? 'The problem', Porter explains, '[with the fact] that reception necessarily structures access to antiquity':

> . . . is that it suggests the wrong kind of picture, as though you could look through a viewfinder *into* a tube *at* an image, and only the final image mattered—that of a pure uncontaminated antiquity—when in fact antiquity includes the viewfinder *and* the medium through which the looking is done. The past is mediated already in the past. The problem here, of course, is this: through what viewfinder do you look at the viewfinder and the medium?[40]

Thus Porter, through the metaphor of the viewfinder, invokes photographic imagery—which is also present in Kjær Tofte's work of art—at the same time as he elegantly formulates in general terms the concrete challenge of looking at Romans looking at Sappho.

Sappho's Poetry: A Brief Overview

In order to meet this challenge, it is useful to establish some basics of what is known about the output of Sappho from the point of view of ancient Rome. This output was extensive, judging from the information that we have about her first collected volumes, which were edited by the famous scholars of Alexandria in the Hellenistic period. It is widely presumed that the Romans knew Sappho's compositions through the reproduction of these editions, perhaps as sung[41] and certainly as written texts. As noted above, the sensational papyri through which the newest Sappho has been recovered stem from editions of Sappho's texts produced in the Roman period.[42] Thus Dirk Obbink, in his critical edition of the newest fragments, presents observations that are crucial for our understanding of Sappho's Roman reception:

> By the Roman period, readers needed a commentary, together with an adequately corrected and annotated copy, in order to make sense of [Sappho's] poems. These contained the written words of the songs she had once sung, as they had been

[40] Porter (2008, p. 474).

[41] For the songs of Sappho in the context of symposia, as attested in Greek and Latin sources during the Roman era, see Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 81–8), and Bowie (2016), as well as Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 120, 136, Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 205, n. 5, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15 pp. 353, 381.

[42] Bierl and Lardinois (2016).

passed down, and corrected back into the dialect once spoken on the island of Lesbos, by some of the best scholars of the past centuries . . . All the [new] papyri range from the late first to the early third centuries AD, the hey-day of Roman book-production. All are professionally produced, written in upscale bookhands for legibility, and have been corrected and equipped by editors with signs and annotations as aids to the reader. They were meant to be read, and to provide the best text that money could buy of a composer who had lived seven hundred years earlier.[43]

Such books, the remains of which have been retrieved in the modern period, must also have been around in the last century BC, when most of the Roman poets explored in this volume were active. The recent recoveries of Sappho papyri also provide an exceptional insight into pre-Roman philological activities, as they can be traced back to an Alexandrian edition of Sappho's first book, of a (presumed) total of nine.[44] In the most recent Sappho, the retrieved sequence of poems is arranged in roughly alphabetical order, and forms part of a book which 'would have contained in total about 45 columns, and held 330 Sapphic stanzas, based on the line-count (1,320 *stichoi*) that appears at the end of the roll containing *P.Oxy.* 1231, thus at least fifty-some poems.'[45] This is an impressive number, and all the more so when we consider that this was what was contained in only one of several books.

Edgar Lobel and Denys Page's account of the extent and metrical arrangement of Sappho's Alexandrian edition derives from an epigram attributed to the Roman Tullius Laurea, believed to be the freedman of Cicero (*Anth. Pal.* 7.17).[46] In this epigram Sappho speaks from her grave and claims that 'the day will never come when lyric Sappho is forgotten' because of 'my nine [books]'.[47] The number nine is supported by the evidence of works on metre by later antique scholars and by the Byzantine lexicon known as the *Suda*.[48]

The poems in the first book were all composed in Sapphic stanzas. Book 2 was dedicated in its entirety to the 'so-called Aeolic dactylic pentameter',[49] Book 3 to asclepiads and Book 4 to hagesichoreans expanded by two choriambs, which is accordingly where the 2004 recovery of fr. 58—written

[43] Obbink (2016a, pp. 13–14). [44] See p. 15. [45] Obbink (2016b, p. 34).
[46] Page (1955, p. 112); see also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 323–4.
[47] See Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 266. The translation is his.
[48] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 341, 357–8, 369–71, 373, 397–8, cf. Voigt (1971, pp. 168–70).
[49] Page (1955, p. 114).

in that metre—must belong. Book 5 seems to have contained 'both the phalaecian hendecasyllable and the so-called shorter asclepiad'.[50] Of Book 6 nothing has been transmitted, and clues to the metres and content of Book 7 are scarce, as is also the case with Book 8, while the ninth book of Sappho's Alexandrian edition may have been wholly made up of her epithalamia, in various metres, though most preserved fragments are in 'dactylic hexameters of the heroic kind'.[51] The word *Epithalamia* may have been the title of the ninth book of Sappho's Alexandrian edition,[52] but it should be noted that such assumptions appear less straightforward since the recovery of the newest Sappho, as we now know that both Book 1 and Book 2 of Sappho closed with epithalamial poems.[53] According to *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1,[54] which is dated to sometime between the second and the third century CE, Sappho also composed elegiacs: a statement that is repeated in the *Suda*, which furthermore claims that Sappho also composed epigrams and iambics,[55] in addition to her famous solo songs.[56]

As is well known, most of this considerable output has been lost. Today we possess only one complete poem (Sappho 1), and a number of near-complete poems (of which the last decade has provided us with the 'Brothers Song', the new 'Kypris Song',[57] substantial parts of fr. 58,[58] and the shorter, but also completely new 'Posthumous honour for Sappho' / pre-Cologne fr. 58[59]), in addition to another handful of reasonably substantial fragments, and some two hundred shorter fragments.

[50] Page (1955, p. 115). [51] Page (1955, p. 123).

[52] Page (1955, p. 116, n. 1 and generally, pp. 112–25) with references.

[53] Obbink (2016b, p. 52).

[54] For the relationship between this papyrus and the ancient scholar Chamaeleon, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 28, 33, n. 30 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 369–71.

[55] As also claimed by other ancient sources, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 316–17, 387.

[56] See *Σ* 107 (iv 322s. Adler) and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 397–8. Compare also: *forsitan et quare mea sint alterna requires | carmina, cum lyricis sim magis apta modis. | flendus amor meus est: elegi quoque flebile carmen; | non facit ad lacrimas barbitos ulla meas* (Ov. *Her.* 15.5–8, 'Perhaps, too, you may ask why my verses alternate, when I am better suited to the lyric mode. My love is tearful—and elegy is also a tearful song; no lyre is suited to my tears'). For the genre of Latin love elegy in general, see Thorsen (2013a).

[57] Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014), Obbink (2014), (2016a), (2016b), and Bierl and Lardinois (2016).

[58] Gronewald and Daniel (2004a), (2004b), and Obbink (2009). [59] See p. 12.

Sappho at Rome

As we zoom in on ancient Rome, we find Sappho to be a prominent figure in a highly receptive culture, though the specific nature and significance of this reception can be elusive from a modern point of view. One part of this elusiveness surely relates to the fact that Sappho was a woman: famously the first extant woman poet in the European tradition.[60] The uniqueness of Sappho in this respect often causes her to eclipse the many other women who composed texts in antiquity. They were by no means non-existent: we know of more than fifty names, of whom a number were poets,[61] and we possess hundreds of fragments of the works of women authors in ancient Greece and Rome.[62] Sappho is, nonetheless, by far the most famous.

Sappho is in fact more famous than many of the male authors of antiquity. This fame seems to have provoked some unrest through the ages, and appears linked to conflicting views on Sappho as on the one hand a poetic subject and on the other a female object. This ambiguity can be observed throughout history in a set of banal, yet influential paradoxes that tend to mark Sappho's reception, in which high esteem for her is paired with reductionist approaches: for example, Sappho was a great poet, but she was an ugly woman; Sappho excelled in the poetry of love, but she may have been a prostitute; and, finally, Sappho was admittedly an extremely gifted woman, but she is the exception compared to all other women, who try to write but cannot do so in any real sense.[63]

These paradoxes represent what seems to have been a continuous tension in the reception history of Sappho at least from the Hellenistic period onwards,[64] and they still permeate scholarship on her poetry to

[60] The first poet in human history whose name is recorded is the woman Enheduanna, of ancient Mesopotamia; cf. Smith (2008, vol. 1, pp. 177–8).

[61] The names of the most important women poets we know today, in addition to Sappho, are (in alphabetical order): Anyte, Corinna, Erinna, Moero, Myrtis, Nossis, Praxilla, the earlier and later Sulpicia (see nn. 86, 89), and Telesilla.

[62] See Snyder (1989 and 1997a), Balmer (1996), and Plant (2004) for Greek and Roman women composers of texts; Stevenson (2005, pp. 29–82) for women Latin poets; and Skoie (2002) for the reception of one of them, Sulpicia; cf. also DeJean (1989a) and Kauffman (1986).

[63] The latter argument has been a particularly common device used to devalue women writers in modern times, as demonstrated by Gubar (1996). See also Lefkowitz (1973) and Russ (1983).

[64] Kivilo (2010, p. 189) sees Sappho's ill repute as a feature that emerges later in her reception history, during the Hellenistic and Roman era.

various degrees today. This tension is attested throughout this volume, and especially in Chapter 1, which focuses on the various difficulties we face in assessing and accessing the poetry and reception of Sappho today, such as the loss of her works, neglect or allegations of inauthenticity in scholarship, and the persistent mention of Sappho's ugliness and her association with prostitution.

Nonetheless, the ever-growing body of Sappho's poetry and the scattered testimonies to her life that are extant today, however fragmentary, testify first and foremost to an outstanding influence. The ancients famously considered her as one of the nine canonical lyrical poets;[65] she featured on vase paintings[66]—indeed, 'more than any other archaic lyricist';[67] mosaics and gem stones displayed her portrait; and her name[68] and her image were engraved on coins in the cities of Mytilene and Eresus on her native island of Lesbos.[69] The fact that two Lesbian cities engraved their coins with her image has been viewed as somewhat puzzling: '[p]ossibly S[appho] was born in Eresus and lived in Mytilene', Campbell tentatively explains.[70] Another possibility is that both cities wanted to be associated with Sappho, because she was such an illustrious Lesbian.

In fact, even the inhabitants of Syracuse, a city in Sicily, where Sappho had lived in exile for a period, wanted to boast of their association

[65] For an ancient attestation of the canonical nine lyrical poets many, e.g. Bowra (1961, p. 2, n. 2), refer to an epigram in Drachmann's collection of *scholia* on Pindar (1964, pp. 10–11), but it remains unclear whether the poem is of antique or post-antique date; I am grateful to Bruno Currie for his kind help concerning this point. However, Ausonius' epigram 19.51 (Green) unequivocally refers to Sappho both as the ninth of the lyrical poets, and the tenth of the Muses, cf. the anonymous *Anth. Pal.* 9.571, where eight male lyrical poets are mentioned together with Sappho, who, however, is called a tenth Muse; see also Plato *Anth. Pal.* 9.506, and Antipater of Thessalonica *Anth. Pal.* 926, where nine women poets are identified both as poets and Muses; see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 302, 339–4, and more generally Färber, discussing lyric in the art-theory of antiquity (1936, pp. 7–11).

[66] See most extensively Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 51–164, 248, and *passim*), (2009, pp. 220–6), and Snyder (1997b).

[67] Yatromanolakis (2007, p. 79).

[68] A large mosaic found in Sparta from the Roman period displays Sappho's portrait and her inscribed name, as do two gems of unknown provenance; see Richter (1965, vol. 1, p. 71).

[69] Notably, the minting of coins with the image of Sappho continued into the imperial age, when Lesbos was a part of the Roman empire, and coins with the image of Sappho are found as late as the second century AD, see Patrick (1912, pp. 80, 83).

[70] Campbell (1982, p. 13).

with her. The Parian Marble,[71] an inscribed chronographical stele, testifies to Sappho's exile in Sicily, an event to which there may possibly be further allusions in the most recently discovered fragments of Sappho.[72] The inscription, which dates to the third century BC, is often referred to in connection with Sappho, but mostly in passing. The context in which Sappho appears on the Parian Marble is, however, worth pausing over. The inscription is the earliest extant example of a Greek chronological text, and lists dates and events of importance, 'beginning from [the legendary Athenian king] Cecrops', according to its unidentified composer.[73] Sappho is mentioned (*Marm. Par.* 36, Jacoby) after Terpander, whose musical innovations are stressed (*Marm. Par.* 34, Jacoby), and before Simonides (*Marm. Par.* 49, Jacoby). Other prominent archaic lyric poets such as Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Anacreon are not mentioned, but Sappho is.[74] According to the records of the Parian Marble, Sappho stayed in Sicily for nearly a decade.[75] It must have been considered a great honour by the Sicilians of Syracuse, as some two hundred and fifty years later the Athenian sculptor Silanion was commissioned to cast Sappho's honorific portrait in bronze, which was subsequently put on public display in the town hall of the city of Syracuse.[76]

This portrait of Sappho eventually made its way to Rome, where it came to occupy a prominent public place in the city, thus embodying the transfer of Sappho from Greek to Roman culture: the presence of Silanion's bronze portrait of Sappho in Rome is recorded[77] as late as

[71] Cf. Jacoby (1904), *IG* 12.5.444. [72] Obbink (2016b, p. 49).

[73] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 315.

[74] On the stele, Sappho is mentioned in a rather political context, namely that of exile. While it might be regarded as a distraction from her achievements as poet, this extra-poetical event in the life of Sappho appears to have a parallel in the mention of Aeschylus' extra-poetical participation in the battle of Marathon (*Marm. Par.* 48, Jacoby).

[75] Between 604 and 595, cf. Gallavotti (1947, p. 29), and confirmed by Hieron. (Euseb.), Ol. XLV 1/2 (= 600/598 BC): *Sappho et Alcaeus poetae clari habentur* (Helm). Notably in Migne, this reads *Sappho mulier philosopha et Alcaeus poeta clari habentur*, and I am currently trying to locate the manuscript reference for this; see also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 388–9.

[76] Notably, Syracuse is mentioned together with Sappho's exile on Sicily on the Parian Marble, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 388–9; see also p. 318 (Cic. *Verr.* 4.47).

[77] Tatian claims to have seen the statue in a public setting by autopsy in Rome; see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 367–9. Archaeological evidence strongly suggests that the statue was situated in the Portico of Pompey, cf. Coarelli (1996), Stewart (1998), Thorsen (2012), (2014b), and (2016), and Nisbet, Chapter 14, pp. 272–4.

the second century AD.[78] About a century had by that time passed since Sappho was portrayed in stucco as taking her famous leap, lyre in hand, in a lavishly decorated underground basilica in Rome.[79] And in the second and third centuries AD, coins were still being minted with the image of Sappho on Lesbos, long since part of the Roman Empire,[80] an empire that for at least another century would see the diligent book production that was to preserve the fragments we now possess as the most recent Sappho.[81] Clearly, even as we approach the first millennium after Sappho's birth, she continues to be actively received in Roman culture.

In Roman verse, which is the main concern of this volume, traces of Sappho can be found as early as the works of Ennius,[82] Plautus,[83] and Terence,[84] and the epigrammatist Valerius Aedituus[85] in the late second or early first century BC, as well as in the poetry of the usual and not so usual suspects of the late Roman Republic and the age of Augustus: Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Augustan Sulpicia,[86] Tibullus,[87] Propertius, and Ovid, through to the Flavian Sulpicia,[88] Statius,[89] Martial,[90] Juvenal,[91] Ausonius,[92] and Claudian.[93] Sappho is also present in the Greek

[78] And maybe even in the Middle Ages, cf. *et erecta illi fuerit statua enea* (Boccaccio, *De mulieribus claris* XLVII.3, 'and a bronze statue was erected in her honour'). My translation.

[79] Cf. North (2012). [80] See note 69. [81] Obbink (2016a, pp. 13–14).

[82] Cf. Ennius fr. 46 Courtney compared to Sappho fr. 150; see e.g. Di Benedetto (2005, p. 8).

[83] Cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 1216–1283 compared to Sappho fr. 31, see Traill (2005), and *Mil.* 1244–1247 for an oblique reference to Sappho and Phaon, cf. also Plaut. *Cist.* 68–70 and *Pseud.* 63, and Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 212, n. 28.

[84] Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 83–4, cf. Sharrock (2009, pp. 229–30).

[85] Valerius Aedituus fr. 1 = Gell. 19.9.10, cf. Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 269.

[86] The earlier Sulpicia is commonly assumed to have lived in the age of Augustus and is the author of elegies, which have been read in the light of Sappho; see e.g. Merriam (2006, p. 12).

[87] On Tibullus 1.4.15–16 and Sappho poem 1, and Tibullus 1.8.17–18 and Sappho fr. 31, see Maltby (2002, pp. 220 and 307). It is striking that these echoes of very famous Sappho poems are found in two of the so-called homoerotic elegies in the Tibullan corpus, and I am currently pursuing these links further.

[88] The later Sulpicia is thought to have been a contemporary of Martial, who lived under the Flavian dynasty and is the author of satire. Cf. Mart. *Epigr.*10.35 and Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 279.

[89] Cf. e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.155 as well as echoes in the *Achilleid*; I am grateful to Philip Mottram for drawing my attention to the latter.

[90] See the relevant Chapters for Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, and Martial.

[91] e.g. Juv. *Sat.* 6, cf. Edwards (1991), and Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 278.

[92] See Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 270, as well as Auson. *Epigr.* 103.11–14 and *Cupido cruciatus* 24, cf. Thorsen (2014a, pp. 16–17).

[93] Claud. *De nuptiis Honorii et Mariae* X.229–35.

literature of the same period, especially in the genre of epigram,[94] such as the verse of Antipater of Thessalonica in the age of Augustus, in the versified tourist graffito of the noblewoman Balbilla dated *c.*130 AD,[95] in the fifth-century hexameters of Christodorus' descriptions of Sappho's statue in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus,[96] and in the sixth-century poetry of the epigrammatists Damocharis[97] and Paulus Silentiarius of Constantinople.[98] By comparison, a poet such as Alcaeus, Sappho's compatriot and poetic colleague on their native island of Lesbos, not to mention others who were included in the canon of nine lyric poets, such as Alcman, Bacchylides, and Ibycus, has left many fewer traces in Roman literary culture.[99] It seems fairly safe to claim (as above) that, in the field of Greek poets, Sappho's reception in Roman literature can be compared only with that of Homer and Callimachus.

Sappho and Roman Poetry: Receptions from Lucretius to Martial

Naturally, comparison with different aspects of Sappho's poetry allows the receiving poet to assert the characteristic values of particular brands of poetry. As Laurel Fulkerson argues in Chapter 3, Lucretius may serve as a case in point. Though Lucretius' famous passage on fear (Lucr. 3.154–7) has been examined in the light of the sublime symptoms of the poetic I in Sappho's famous fr. 31,[100] Lucretius is not normally seen as receptive to Sapphic influence. Yet, as Fulkerson shows in her chapter, Lucretius' topic of Epicurean philosophy, seemingly so incompatible with the theme of passionate eroticism, has a paradoxical yet productive point of contact with Sapphic poetry and imagery in the common concept of pleasure.

[94] Cf. e.g. Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006a) and Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 97–101.

[95] See Rosenmeyer (2008).

[96] See *Anth. Pal.* 2.69–71.

[97] See Nisbet, Chapter 14, p. 268. For a fuller list of testimonies, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, *passim*.

[98] See *Ant. Pal.* 5.246, Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006b), and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 393–4.

[99] Cf. e.g. *TLL* vol. I, p. 1512 (Alcaeus), p. 1519 (Alcman), vol. II p. 1667 (Bacchylides), Cic. *Tusc.* 4.71, Stat. *Silv.* 2.3–153 (Ibycus).

[100] Cf. Marcovich (1972, p. 38).

Ovid, too, the most prolific of all the extant Roman poets, is not regularly looked at in the context of Sappho's reception at Rome.[101] Yet, as Jennifer Ingleheart demonstrates in Chapter 11, the image of Sappho as bard, *uates*, the most prominent and solemn designation for a poet in Augustan Rome,[102] appears to have been a particularly productive model for Ovid throughout his entire output. This is the case even without taking into account *Heroides* 15, the authenticity of which has been debated for a long time.[103] However, the elevated term *uates*—used here of Sappho herself—also occurs repeatedly in the poem (Ov. *Her*. 15.58, 205), which this volume takes to have been composed by Ovid as a part of his single *Heroides*.[104] As Chiara Elisei shows in Chapter 12, the portrayal of Sappho in *Heroides* 15 is compellingly consistent with Ovid's representation of himself in his other poetry. Furthermore, as I try to show in Chapter 13, *Heroides* 15 appears uniquely receptive to striking features of Sappho Book 1 that have only recently been retrieved with the recovery of the most recent Sappho.

Issues of style and aesthetic techniques are of great concern to Roman poets. In Chapter 2, Richard Hunter explores such issues in the case of Sappho, ancient literary criticism and poetry in Greek and Latin. By focusing on the important metaliterary terms *ἀλλότριον* ('what belongs to someone else')[105] and *οἰκεῖον* ('what is one's own'), Hunter intriguingly suggests that Sappho is perceived and received not only as 'ancient' according to her chronological position in the history of literature, but also as aesthetically innovative according to an ordering of literary styles, which occasionally aligns her much more closely with the poetic ideals of Callimachus than with those of other archaic poetry.[106] In Chapter 4, I pursue similar lines of enquiry, as I ask whether Sappho might be considered as important as Callimachus for Roman poets, particularly in the case of Catullus.

[101] Cf. e.g. standard histories of Latin literature such as von Albrecht (1992 and 1997) and Conte (1994).

[102] Cf. e.g. Newman (1967). [103] See pp. 5–6, n. 21.

[104] See also Chapter 1, pp. 29–30, and Thorsen (2014a).

[105] Cf. Maximus of Tyre '*πλῆρες τὸ στῆθος ἔχων ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον αλλοτρίων ναμάτων, ἤ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς*' (*Diss.* 18.7, 'his breast filled like a pitcher with streams of foreign water, perhaps from the fair Sappho'); see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 32, and for full quotation Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 360–2.

[106] Thus Rissman (1983, pp. 48–54) too suggestively introduces the concept of '"Alexandrian" Sappho', while discussing Sappho fr. 16 as a preamble bordering on a *recusatio*.

A second contribution by Hunter, Chapter 8, appears midway through this book and functions as a kind of 'proem in the middle', as it opens by addressing an important rationale behind this very volume, namely the lack of investigations into Sappho's Roman reception.[107] This chapter by Hunter pursues many of the directions laid out in his Chapter 2, and continues to challenge the more conventional chronological approach by stressing how Sappho is perceived and received differently from the lyric poet Pindar in Horatian poetry, while at the same time: 'Horace reads Sappho's style as a forerunner of Hellenistic/Roman poetic taste.'[108] Again, a metaliterary pair of concepts appears central: γλαφυρός ('smooth'), associated with Sappho,[109] is contrasted with αὐστηρός ('harsh', 'rough', 'bitter'), linked with Pindar. Building on Hunter's observations concerning style and aesthetic techniques, I in Chapter 9 seek to explore Sappho precisely as a forerunner of the Hellenistic/Roman poetic dynamics of imitation and emulation in the case of Horace.

In Roman literature, poetic issues such as style and aesthetics are typically heralded through genre-specific technical characteristics, such as metre.[110] Sappho's authorial influence in Rome naturally includes metrical aspects, especially since the form of the Sapphic stanza is so strongly associated with her.[111] According to ancient testimony, Sappho invented the Mixolydian mode,[112] but not the Sapphic stanza, despite her close association with this metrical form; that honour goes instead to Alcaeus.[113] Sappho was not unusual among poets in being associated with certain modes and metres, or even among women poets, as a three-and-a-half-foot ionic metre is called 'telesillean' after the poet Telesilla of Argos.[114] Nonetheless, perhaps due to the name (and fame) of the metrical form of the Sapphic stanza, in which the poems of the first book of Sappho's Alexandrian edition were composed, the other metrical forms which Sappho is assumed to have employed in her other books are not so conspicuous in scholarship dealing with Sappho's Roman reception.

[107] See p. 2. [108] Hunter, Chapter 8, p. 157.

[109] Cf. Lucian 'ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ τὸ γλαφυρὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως' (*Imag.* 18, 'Sappho, the elegance of her character'), Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 33, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 360–2.

[110] Harrison (2007).

[111] Cf. e.g. Morgan (2010, pp. 182–3, 188–9, 193–9, 202–12, 233–4, 237–60).

[112] Plut. Mor. [*De Mus*]. 16.113c.

[113] Marius Victorinus, *Gramm. Lat.* VI.161 Keil; see however Isidore of Seville in Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 394–5.

[114] Campbell (1992, p. 78, referring to Edmonds).

In this volume, issues concerning the Sapphic stanza, together with the Sapphic sixteen-syllable line or 'greater asclepiad', are discussed in connection with Sappho's influence at Rome by Richard Hunter in Chapter 8, who takes Horace, Theocritus, and Callimachus as points of departure. Similarly, Stephen Harrison discusses Sapphic epithalamial hexameters in his exploration of the 'shades of Sappho' in Vergil's hexameter poetry in Chapter 7.

As celebrations of marriage, the remains of Sappho's epithalamial poems naturally feature predominantly heterosexual relationships. The heterosexual aspects of this substantial output of Sappho's poetry are often eclipsed by the prominent homoeroticism with which she is more often associated today.[115] It is therefore a particularly intriguing touch that Vergil's allusions to Sappho's epithalamial poetry activate a homoerotic sensibility, which is so emblematic of Sappho's legacy, as Harrison shows in his contribution. Harrison's chapter relates to Olivier Thévenaz's Chapter 6, which also highlights the important legacy of Sappho's epithalamia and distinguishes between an epithalamial and an erotic voice as it relates to the reception of Sappho at the beginning of Catullus' *libellus*.

In Chapter 7, Harrison also reveals further 'shades of Sappho' in the Vergilian corpus, identifying the image of the evening star as one of the elements that casts light on the dynamics of poetic craft and artistic imagery in both Sappho and Vergil, notably in the latter's *Eclogues* as well as in his *Georgics*. Another element that Harrison focuses on concerns Sappho's so-called sublime symptoms, famously described in fr. 31, which suggestively function as a pointed contrast to Aeneas' unwilling rejection of his feelings for Dido.

With the theme of love come objects of desire. In Chapter 5, Lars Morten Gram explores the possible significances of the name of the most constant object of Catullus' desire, Lesbia, one aspect of which is that it functions as a reference to Sappho. Taken together, the possible connotations of Lesbia's name appear contradictory. Gram, however, sees this contradiction not as a problem, but as a productive tension at the heart of the poetic programme of Catullus, succinctly summarized in the conflicting emotions of love and hate of his epigram 85. Though Gram deals

[115] For various receptions of Sappho's erotics, and even non-erotics, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 39–42.

with poems that are to be found later in the Catullan poetry book than those treated by Thévenaz, Gram's chapter precedes Thévenaz's in this volume because it discusses aspects of Sappho's influence on Catullus that are well established in classical scholarship, while Thévenaz presents an entirely fresh interpretation of how the Sapphic legacy operates in the first poems of the Catullan poetry book.

One of the most famous objects of love in ancient literature is Helen, who also features prominently in Sappho frr. 16 and 23. Helen, cast explicitly as the cause of the Trojan War, appears in the Propertian poem that sports the influence of Sappho most conspicuously, namely Propertius 2.3, and this forms the point of departure for Stephen Heyworth's exploration of Sapphic influences in Propertian elegy in Chapter 10. By thoroughly mapping possible allusions to Sappho across Propertius' poetic corpus, this chapter argues that Sappho's influence is most evident in the case of Cynthia, who as a consequence appears not only as a *puella*, but also as a poet in her own right, thus intriguingly reflecting back on some of the essential qualities of the poet Propertius himself.

While Hunter's chapters function as a double proem, one (almost) at the beginning and one (almost) in the middle, Thévenaz's Chapter 6, on Catullus, and Gideon Nisbet's Chapter 14, on Martial and Roman epigram in general, provide another organizational structure for the (approximate) second half of this volume, focusing on specific patterns of allusion. It is a well-established fact that Martial looks back to Catullus as he moulds his own poetic project. Nisbet explores this fact further from the point of view of Sappho's influence on both Catullus and Martial in the wider context of Roman literature, and finds a fine, underlying pattern of Sapphic evocations in the seventh of Martial's twelve books of epigrams.

Nisbet thus not only identifies what one might call a Sapphic 'proem in the middle' in the seventh of Martial's twelve main books of epigrams, but also provides an arresting ring-compositional connection back to Catullus, as explored by Thévenaz in this volume. In Chapter 6, Thévenaz reveals an underlying pattern of Sapphic allusions in the first poems of the Catullan *libellus*, similar to the allusions to Meleager in the opening of Catullus' work that are already established in Catullan scholarship. These two underlying patterns of Sapphic allusions in both Catullus and Martial thus contribute to a profounder understanding not only of Sappho's Roman reception in general, but also of the role

she played in the particular poetic projects of these two Roman poets, both characterized by strong erotic interests, and the later of whom in chronological terms, Nisbet's Martial, holds the final place among the chapters of this volume.

The different arguments put forward in this book make various use of the many *testimonia* to—that is, *receptions* of—Sappho appearing in prose and poetry, in Greek and Latin, that were produced during the wide time span between *c.*600 BC and *c.*1000 AD. The compilation of *testimonia Sapphica*—that is, *scholarly receptions* of (mainly) pre-medieval receptions—is a standard exercise in Sappho scholarship. However, the reader who wants to consult existing collections may be bewildered by the fact that they are not identical, that they represent only a selection of *testimonia*, that they regularly include passages reproduced exclusively in Greek or Latin, that they are full of references given in the form of obscure abbreviations, or that they are organized according to a list of themes that is only occasionally consistent from one collection to another, with no further explanation as to why these topics in particular have been treated as the most relevant.[116]

In an attempt to reflect on the nature of Sappho *testimonia* as a double instance of reception (that is, scholarly receptions of pre-medieval receptions), *and* to render these *testimonia* more accessible to the less as well as the more specialized reader, this volume closes with a new collection of such *testimonia*. This collection is one of the most comprehensive to date, includes several items that have not previously featured in collections of Sappho *testimonia*, and is introduced by a brief discussion of the genre of *testimonia* more generally, followed by a cursory survey of the major existing collections and a short presentation of the main features of the present one. These features include a vertical timeline, with horizontal boxes providing the names of authors, where known, information about the texts in which the *testimonia* are quoted, in those cases where that applies, the actual *testimonia*, translations of these, and thematic keywords. The overall organizational principle of the present collection is thus chronological. The main purpose of this alternative organization is to avoid imposing potentially unwarranted thematic narratives onto the *testimonia*—a problem from which existing

[116] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 294–6.

compilations tend to suffer. Another important aim of this organization of the collection is to make it easier to appreciate these *testimonia* (which are generally regarded as sources of only secondary importance) as texts in their own right, as well as to allow the tracing of a literary-historical trajectory over time.

It is the hope that this organization of the new collection of Sappho *testimonia*, taken together with the rich chapters, will enhance the usefulness of this book for students and scholars alike, and help to advance our understanding of Sappho, Roman poetry, and the dynamics of reception further.

1

Sappho: Transparency and Obstruction

Thea S. Thorsen

Anyone trying to follow the introductory chapter's imperative heading *ecce Sappho*, 'behold Sappho', in the context of ancient Rome will find that his or her view is frequently obstructed by a number of factors.[1] These obstructions come in addition to the broader challenges of finding the 'viewfinder through which you may look at the viewfinder and the medium'[2] and are arguably specific to the case of Sappho. Furthermore, these obstructions of the view of Sappho at Rome are often of the kind that makes it easier to generalize than to take a closer look. However, as will be argued below, scrutinizing such factors in themselves may provide a kind of transparency that may in turn facilitate the viewing of the object in question.

This chapter will focus on three major obstructions; one is related to access, which may be variously blocked by loss of material, lack of scholarly recognition, and claims of inauthenticity. Another kind of obstruction is based on devaluations of Sappho as an ugly woman or as associated with prostitution. Finally, eroticism, encompassing homo-erotic, heterosexual, and extra-marital aspects, represents a third kind of obstruction. As I hope to show, each of these obstructions has the potential to provide a transparent perspective over the complex notion of Sappho at Rome—especially, I would contend, the third category, relating to Sapphic eroticism.

[1] The chapter title is inspired by Starobinski (1988).

[2] Paraphrase of Porter (2008, p. 474); see Thorsen, Introduction, p. 13.

Loss, Neglect, and Inauthenticity

As is well known, much of what relates to Sappho in our past is inaccessible, simply because it has been lost, and is only recognizable as relevant for our understanding upon its recovery. While the loss of most of Sappho's poetry represents one of the most serious and desperate obstructions to our view of Sappho and her reception, the recent and numerous recoveries of Sappho papyri during the last decade have infused the field with more transparency,[3] and resultant optimism.[4]

The new findings have also prompted further investigations into Sappho's Roman reception, particularly in the case of Horace; for example, allusions to Sappho in the Underworld have been identified (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.13),[5] as have possible iambic contexts in Sappho's own poetry for the famous *mascula Sappho* of the Horatian epistles,[6] and—most notably—the striking echo of τάδ' ἄλλα | πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν (*P.Sapph.* Obbink, 'Brothers Song', 13–14, 'Let us entrust all other things to the gods') in Horace's *permitte diuis cetera* (*Carm.* 1.9.9, 'Leave the rest to the gods').[7] Further links between the newest Sappho and Latin poetry are explored in Chapter 13 by the author of this chapter.

A similar kind of obstruction occurs when the evidence of Sappho's reception has been seen but not been recognized as important, and hence not found worthy of being mentioned. In such cases, information about Sappho appears instead to have been deliberately omitted from relevant scholarly accounts. The ancient scholar Chamaeleon (*c.*350–after 281 BC) serves to illustrate the point: Chamaeleon wrote a treatise on Sappho, of which some fragments are still extant.[8] Yet on consulting the entry on Chamaeleon himself[9] and the entry on Greek lyric[10] in a standard reference volume such as the most recent edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, we find that this piece of information, though well known among specialists, is left out in both cases and hence hard to spot for those who are not already aware of its existence.

[3] Gronewald and Daniel (2004a), (2004b), (2007), Obbink (2014), (2016a), and (2016b).
[4] See Bierl and Lardinois (2016).
[5] See Hardie (2005), Di Benedetto (2005), and Thorsen, Chapter 9, p. 170.
[6] Martin (2016, p. 126).
[7] Phillips (2014b).
[8] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 308–9, 369–71.
[9] *OCD* (2012 s.v. Chamaeleon).
[10] *OCD* (2012 s.v. Greek lyric).

A parallel obstruction occurs when evidence of Sappho's influence has been seen, but is reduced by claims that it really means nothing or is inauthentic. One such example is the statue of Sappho by the Athenian artist Silanion, attested by Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.125–7)[11] as having been removed by Verres from its original place in the town hall of Syracuse, and by Tatian as still being on display in Rome in the second century AD.[12] Tatian reports that he observed this and other statues in person, yet his claim was dismissed in the late nineteenth century as pure fantasy based on literary texts.[13] However, in the 1960s Tatian's assertion was vindicated by archaeological findings and epigraphic evidence.[14] Nevertheless, this view of Tatian as an unreliable source has until recently relegated to the margins of scholarship the important piece of information regarding Silanion's honorary portrait of Sappho as a part of her reception at Rome.

A comparable, more famous example is *Heroides* 15, the alleged inauthenticity of which has rendered it marginal in scholarship on Sappho's Roman reception, especially as concerns Ovid, the author of the single *Heroides*, among his earliest compositions.[15] Lately Llewelyn Morgan has pursued some links between the recently recovered 'Brothers Song' and this Heroidean poem,[16] and his investigation starts from the debate on authenticity and especially from the views of Richard Tarrant (1981), who argues that the poem is inauthentic. Among the arguments against the poem's authenticity, Morgan refers to 'Tarrant's trenchant assessment of the poem's quality'.[17] Morgan's reference to Tarrant's work on the authenticity of *Heroides* 15 is just one recent example of the enormous influence his article has had on studies of this poem. It is therefore extremely important to point out that Tarrant no longer thinks that the poem is of poor quality, as he made clear in an interview with the Norwegian national broadcaster upon the publication

[11] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 318.
[12] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 367–9.
[13] Kalkmann (1887).
[14] Coarelli (1996), Stewart (1998), Thorsen (2012).
[15] See Thorsen (2014a), Introduction, p. 6, Elisei, Chapter 12, and Thorsen, Chapter 13.
[16] Morgan (2016). On the basis of the retrieved 'Brothers Song', Morgan suggests that the established understanding of *Her.* 15.64 as a reference to Sappho's brother's involvement in piracy should instead be taken as a reference to his trading of wine by ship, cf. Morgan (2016, p. 300), see also Thorsen (2014a, p. 62 'trading wine?').
[17] Morgan (2016, p. 295).

of my book *Ovid's Early Poetry* in 2014.[18] In this interview, Tarrant sustained his conviction that the poem is inauthentic, not because he thinks that it is poorly written, as he once thought, but because he thinks that *loci similes* in *Heroides* 15 and in Ovid's later poetry indicate that the Heroidean poem was composed after Ovid's exile and—by implication—after his death, and hence by someone other than him[19]—a point put forward already in the 1981 article. In my book, where I explore both new and known material and revisit some two hundred years of arguments regarding the question of authorship, I conclude that there are no decisive arguments against the authenticity of *Heroides* 15, the authorship of which is attested already in Ovid *Am*. 2.18.26. Ingleheart in Chapter 11, Elisei in Chapter 12, and I in Chapter 13 further support this conclusion.[20] Hence, the poem is regarded as genuine throughout this volume.[21] Yet, regardless of whether one thinks that *Heroides* 15 is by Ovid or not, from the perspective of Sappho's Roman reception, the most significant point is this: *Heroides* 15 represents an important specimen in Sappho's reception history, the full significance of which has been obstructed by the authenticity debate.

Devaluation I: Poor Looks

The examples of Sappho's importance and influence listed above are difficult to access and assess, either because of material conditions or because of problems relating to understanding and scholarship. Similarly obstructive is another strikingly persistent and obscuring aspect of the history of Sappho's reception, namely the poet's alleged ugliness.

Because of the prevalent notion today that Sappho was ugly, it might come as a surprise that most testimonies describe her looks as appealing; these descriptions are also replete with metapoetic potential. Thus, in a poem disputably attributed to her fellow countryman, the lyric poet

[18] <www.nrk.no/trondelag/norsk-forsker-kan-ha-motbevist-harvard-professor-1.12075452>. Since the appearance of this interview, I have had the great pleasure of meeting Richard Tarrant personally at an Ovid conference in Huelva, Spain, and discussing the authenticity of *Heroides* 15 further with him in the friendliest and most generous of manners, for which I remain deeply grateful.

[19] If that may be the case, this must have happened quite soon after Ovid's death, as evidence places the poem before Lucan; see Thorsen (2014a, pp. 101–5).

[20] As does Elisei (forthcoming).

[21] For brief presentations of the chapters, see p. 21.

Alcaeus, the poetic 'I' seems to exclaim: *ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι* (Alc. fr. 384 (Campbell), 'violet-haired, holy, sweetly smiling Sappho').[22] If this is indeed to be understood as an address to Sappho, she surely appears appealing: almost divine and attractively smiling.

And in a poem by Anacreon, which Chamaeleon, according to Athenaeus,[23] claims refers metapoetically to Sappho, she appears thus, in a playful setting:

σφαίρῃ δηῦτέ με πορφυρῇ
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·
ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

Anac. fr. 358

Once again golden-haired Love strikes me with his purple ball and summons me to play with the girl in the embroidered sandals; but she—for she comes from Lesbos with its fine cities—finds fault with my hair because it is white, and gapes after another girl.

With her 'embroidered sandals' (Anacreon fr. 358.3)[24] Sappho gives an elegant impression.[25] And when Plato mentions her in passing, he has Phaedrus describe her quite simply as 'the beautiful Sappho' (Pl. *Phaedr.* 235c, *Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς*).[26] Furthermore, the honorific bronze portrait of Sappho that was made by the Athenian sculptor Silanion for the Syracusan town hall clearly appealed to Cicero, who had spent time in

[22] Voigt (1971, p. 332, Alc. fr. 384), however, objects to this view, since the name of Sappho is written with a psi and not with a sigma in the other extant Aeolian poetry of the period, and thus she renders the fragment: *ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδες ἄπφοι*, where the latter word becomes an endearment used of siblings. See however Nagy (2007, p. 219). See also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 301.

[23] Athen. *Deipn.* 13.599c; see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 308–9.

[24] See n. above.

[25] For the difficulties in interpreting Anacreon's poem and references to the scholarly debate, see Pelliccia (1991).

[26] Aelian (*VH* 12.19) refers to Plato calling Sappho wise, but it seems he confounds her with Plato's description of Anacreon as 'wise' in the same passage in which he calls Sappho 'beautiful', thus the universally transmitted 'wise' of Aelian's text has been replaced by 'beautiful' in the Teubner edition of Hercher, as referred to by Dilts (1974, pp. xiv, xix, 135). See also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 380–1.

Sicily and described the work as *opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum* (Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.126, 'so perfect, so elegant, so high-finished a work'). The portrait may of course have been idealized, but it would all the same represent an appealing image of Sappho. Similarly, the epigrammatist Damocharis conjures up the looks of Sappho in the image of a painting inspired by none other than nature itself, where, as Gideon Nisbet explains in Chapter 14, her visible features are described by means of vocabulary that evokes non-physical features: the poet's personal character, and aspects of her poetry.[27]

A few testimonies do indeed suggest that Sappho was ugly. One of them is Ovid's *Heroides* 15, in which Sappho explains that nature has denied her beauty and that she is short and dark (Ov. *Her*. 15.31–6).[28] As Elisei demonstrates in Chapter 12, however, the point at the heart of this passage is that inner qualities, particularly those of a poet, render a person's physical features, which according to conventional criteria may not be considered appealing, appealing nonetheless. Thus Elisei demonstrates that Ovid's play with the physical appearance of Sappho resonates with the profundity of her own approach to the relationship between love and beauty, as exemplified by her frr. 49 and 50.

Furthermore, Maximus of Tyre in the second century AD, who preserves Sappho's fr. 49, makes this point even more explicit, as he comments upon Plato's *Phaedrus*:

> *ἐπιδειξαμένου γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦ Μυρριουσίου Φαίδρου λόγον ὑπὸ Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου συγγεγραμμένον ἐρωτικόν, οὐκ ἔφη θαυμάζειν, πλῆρες τὸ στῆθος ἔχων ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον ἀλλοτρίων ναμάτων, ἤ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς—οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζων χαίρει διὰ τὴν ὥραν τῶν μελῶν, καίτοι μικρὰν οὖσαν καί μέλαιναν.*
>
> (Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 18.7)[29]

When Phaedrus of Myrrhene gave him a performance of the amatory discourse composed by Lysias son of Cephalus, he claimed that he was not at all surprised to find his breast filled like a pitcher with streams of foreign water, perhaps from the fair Sappho—so he is pleased to call her because of the beauty of her poetry, although she herself was short and swarthy.

(Transl. Michael Trapp 2017)

[27] Nisbet, Chapter 14, pp. 268–9.
[28] For a quotation of the passage, see pp. 49, 230 in this volume.
[29] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 360–2.

Thus, according to Maximus of Tyre's interpretation of Plato, he too thinks that Sappho's poetry renders her beautiful, despite her less appealing looks.

In fact, as far as I have been able to establish, the only ancient testimonies in which Sappho is unequivocally described as ugly are *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1, which by some is assumed to be by the aforementioned Chamaeleon, since the papyrus fragment contains his name, although the text seems to refer to him as an alternative authority and the papyrus is written in a much later hand,[30] and a medieval scholion on Lucian.[31] *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 describes Sappho's looks in the following terms: *τὴν δὲ μορφὴν [εὐ]καταφρόνητος δοκεῖ γε[γον]ένα[ι κα]ὶ δυσειδεστάτη[[ν]], [τ]ὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄψιν φαιώδης [ὑ]πῆρχεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος μικρὰ παντελῶς* (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1, 'In appearance she seems to have been contemptible and most ugly, being dark in complexion and of very small stature').[32] The same characteristics, which also feature in *Heroides* 15 (above), recur in the scholion to Lucian, in which Sappho's unattractive appearance is compared to that of a bird with whom Sappho is also associated in *Heroides* 15,[33] the nightingale: *ὅσον εἰς σῶμα εἰδεχθεστάτη Σαπφώ, μικρά τε καὶ μέλαινα ὁρωμένη, καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἀηδὼν ἀμόρφοις τοῖς πτίλοις ἐπὶ σμικρῷ τῷ σώματι περιειλημένη* (Scholion to Lucian *Imag.* 18, Rabe (1906, p. 186), 'Sappho [was] most disgusting where the ways of her body are concerned, looking small and black, and like nothing so much as a nightingale, flapping around with its little body clad in feathers of no beauty').[34] Thus the scholiast on Lucian's *Imagines* idiosyncratically fuses the allegedly unattractive appearance of Sappho with the image of the nightingale, which in other contexts in ancient poetry appears as a positive musical comparison for the poet, not least for Sappho.[35] Notably

[30] The title of Chamaeleon's treatise may be preserved in the first line of the *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1, which records only the last three letters of the last word of the title *[περὶ Σαπφ]οῦς*. Notably, the critical editor of Chamaeleon, Wehrli, is cautious, and *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 is his Chamaeleon fr. 27, of which he quotes very little (1967/1969, p. 55). Voigt (1971) and Hunter, Chapter 2, take the whole fragment of *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 to stem from Chamaeleon's treatise on Sappho. See also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 369–71.

[31] The date of the scholion is uncertain. The manuscripts in which it occurs are variously dated to the tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries respectively (Rabe, 1906, pp. iii–iv).

[32] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 369–71.

[33] Ov. *Her.* 15.153–4.

[34] My translation; see also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 366–7.

[35] Cf. Hermesianax, *Leontion* 3.49 (Lightfoot), Ov. *Her.* 15.153–4, and *Suda A* 651, cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 313–14, 367, 395–6; see also Monella (2005) and Thorsen (2014a, pp. 42–57).

the passage of Lucian on which the scholiast comments characterizes Sappho as pleasing and exemplary by τὸ γλαφυρὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως (Luc. *Imag.* 18, 'the elegance of her character'),[36] that is, by means of important metapoetic vocabulary.[37]

The frequent mention of Sappho's alleged ugliness in scholarship thus appears grossly disproportionate when the accounts of her looks in *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1, dated between the second and third century AD, and the Lucian scholion, which is of a medieval date, are weighed against the many ancient testimonies to the beauty of Sappho in terms of her appearance, as attested by Alcaeus, Anacreon, Silanion—confirmed by Cicero—and Damocharis, and to her attractiveness in terms of personality and poetic skills, as attested by Plato—confirmed by Maximus of Tyre—and Ovid. Looking for evidence of Sappho's looks thus leads us to focus instead on her beauty—even if this beauty is mostly figurative.

Devaluation II: Prostitution

Throughout the reception of Sappho there is an association between the poet and the figure of the *hetaera* ('courtesan' or 'prostitute'). This association, like Sappho's alleged ugliness, is mentioned in virtually all scholarship on Sappho, including the present volume.[38]

A link—*ad uiam negatiuam*—between Sappho and a *hetaera* by the name of Rhodopis and/or Doricha is present already in the earliest testimonies of Sappho's reception, and is therefore a fact of considerable importance in approaching the question of how she has been perceived and received. In fact, the association between Sappho and the *hetaera* goes back to what many regard as the first known text that mentions Sappho at all outside of her own poetry, namely that of Herodotus,[39] who describes how Sappho disapproved of the *hetaera* with whom her brother Charaxus had fallen in love. Herodotus (2.135) refers to a poem,[40] in which Sappho chastises her brother for his alliance with the *hetaera*, a claim

[36] See also Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 367.

[37] Cf. Hunter, Chapter 8, pp. 156–8 and Thorsen, Introduction, p. 22.

[38] In this volume, Gram's Chapter 5 especially explores how Sappho and the *hetaera* figure appear conjoined in the Sapphic tradition.

[39] Otherwise it would be Alcaeus in fr. 384, see above, p. 31 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 301.

[40] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 301–2.

which in 2014 was sensationally confirmed by the fragment now known as *P.Sapph.* Obbink, also called the 'Brothers Song'.[41]

In *The Learned Banqueters*, Athenaeus refers to Herodotus and quotes another testimony to Sappho's antipathy towards the *hetaera*, namely the epigram of Posidippus:[42]

> *Δωρίχα, ὀστέα μὲν †σ' ἁπαλὰ κοιμήσατο δεσμῶν †*
> *χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,*
> *ᾗ ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον*
> *σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἥψαο κισσυβίων·*
> *Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν*
> *ᾠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες.*
> . . .
>
> Posidippus 122 AB = 17 GP = Athen. 13.596c

Doricha, your delicate bones fell asleep long ago . . . the bands of your hair, and the perfume-breathing shawl in which you once wrapped the handsome Charaxus, and, joining him to your flesh, grasped the wine cup in the small hours. But the white ringing columns of Sappho's dear song abide and will still abide.

Again, as in the case of Herodotus, the *hetaera* is introduced mainly as a foil to Sappho's enduring power as poet.

The context in which Posidippus' poem is transmitted is of great relevance to the more general associations between Sappho and the *hetaera*, since Posidippus' epigram is included in the thirteenth book of *The Learned Banqueters* by Athenaeus, which is dedicated to the theme of courtesans and related issues.[43] In this book of Athenaeus, Sappho is featured in three different incarnations that are relevant for our understanding of her association with prostitution, all of which tend to be confused in the scholarship. One of these representations involves her antipathy towards her brother's *hetaera* lover, as seen in Herodotus and Posidippus.[44] In another, Sappho appears as the object of the love of other, male poets: in a poem of Hermesianax quoted by Athenaeus, Alcaeus and Anacreon are represented as rivals for the love of Sappho,[45] who scorns the

[41] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 15.

[42] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 312–13.

[43] See McClure (2003), who demonstrates and illuminates the extremely important fact that most of what we know about courtesans and most of the views that we ascribe to ancient authors about them does in fact stem from Athenaeus and therefore needs to be understood as a part of his literary project.

[44] See also Ov. *Her.* 15.63–4.

[45] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 313–14.

approaches of (at least) Alcaeus. Athenaeus also refers to a comedy by Diphilus, in which the poets Archilochus and Hipponax are described as her ἐραστάς,[46] which can indeed mean 'lovers', but also 'admirers' (*LSJ* s.v. ἐραστής 1.b), a rendering that would be much more analogous to the role of Alcaeus in Hermesianax. In fact, like the poem by Anacreon, which Athenaeus interprets as referring metapoetically to Sappho, and the Roman poets treated in this volume, who clearly used her as a model and inspiration, these Hellenistic examples bear witness to a tradition in which Sappho appears not so much as a promiscuous female in the sexual sense, as an attractive object of the (literary) rivalry of male poets.[47]

However, Athenaeus also includes a reference, which follows immediately after the epigram of Posidippus recording Sappho's antipathy towards her brother's *hetaera* lover, to the extant source of the earliest (third-century BC)[48] reference to Sappho the prostitute, namely the work known as *Voyage along the Coast of Asia* by Nymphis = Nymphodorus of Syracuse. Athenaeus' reference to Nymphodorus introduces the figure of Phaon[49] and claims that 'Sappho' is a *hetaera*, without distinguishing this Sappho from the poet—a fact that is concealed by the post-classical critical supplement <ποητρίας ὁμώνυμος>, <who shared a name with the poetess> introduced by Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614).[50]

This distinction between 'Sappho the poet' and 'Sappho the prostitute' is however present in other sources that link Sappho the *hetaera* and Phaon. Thus the third-century AD historian Aelian tells of Phaon, Sappho the poet, and Sappho the *hetaera* in three separate, but consecutive passages (*VH* 12.18–19). Sappho the poet is similarly distinguished from the Sappho who fell in love with Phaon in the Byzantine lexicon known as the *Suda*, through the separation of the two entries on 'Sappho', one of whom is identified as the Λεσβία . . . λυρική (Σ 107, 'Lesbian lyric poet') and another as the Λεσβία . . . ψάλτρια (Σ 108, 'Lesbian lyre-player'), which may or may not also denote 'prostitute'.[51] The lexicon

[46] In the accusative; see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 305.

[47] See Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 92–3. For a different interpretation of this fact, see Nagy (2007).

[48] Williams (2016).

[49] For seminal works on the significance of Phaon in the context of Sappho, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913, pp. 2–42, esp. 25–40), Nagy (1990), and Most (1996).

[50] For a discussion of this supplement and the Sappho *testimonia*, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 296–7.

[51] For a possible equation between the harp-player and the *hetaera*, see e.g. Men. *Epit.* fr. 1 Körte-Thierfeld.

includes an entry on 'Phaon', where there is mention of Sappho, 'not the poet, but a woman from Lesbos', who was in love with him and might also have composed poetry.[52]

The picture is further complicated by the fact that Phaon occurs not only in testimonies that refer to what appears to be another Lesbian woman known as 'Sappho', who in Nymphodorus and Aelian is identified as just a *hetaera*. Phaon is clearly also associated with Sappho the poet. Normally dated to the century preceding Nymphodorus, Palaephatus (or pseudo-Palaephatus) of Athens[53] claims that Sappho often sang of Phaon in her poetry,[54] and Ovid makes him a prominent figure in Sappho's life in his *Heroides* 15, which notably also includes an association between Sappho and the figure of the *hetaera*, again through Sappho's disapproval of her brother's *hetaera* lover, in parallel to the cases of Herodotus and Posidippus (Ov. *Her*. 15.63–6). Finally, a number of sources mention Sappho and Phaon with no specification of the identity of Sappho, who in scholarship is generally assumed to be the poet, although this is not unequivocally certain.[55]

In the post-Hellenistic and Roman tradition, the distinction between Sappho the poet and Sappho the *hetaera* seems to be further blurred in the case of Seneca's famous complaint over the pointless speculations of the Alexandria-based Didymus (first century BC), whom he accuses of having written too much about issues of too little importance, such as whether Sappho was *publica* (Sen. *Epist*. 88.37, 'a common prostitute'). Yet it is important to remember that Seneca's point is not that Sappho actually was a common prostitute, but how futile it is to speculate on such matters.[56]

In fact, upon closer scrutiny of the evidence, only Tatian (*c*.120–172 AD) unequivocally calls Sappho the poet a *hetaera*[57]—in fact, a 'miserable little love-crazed whore of a woman' (*Ad Gr.* 33.5, l. 20 Marcovich, *γύναιον πορνικὸν ἐρωτομανές*). Originally from Syria, but long resident in Rome, the ascetic and Christian apologist Tatian, who eventually became an apostate, describes her thus in his *Oratio ad Graecos* ('Address to the

[52] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 399.
[53] See Nünlist (2008).
[54] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 306; cf. Sappho fr. 211a Voigt.
[55] Cf. Menander fr. 258 Körte, Plaut., *Mil.* 1244–7, Pliny *HN* 18.18–20, Ausonius *Epigr.* 103.11–14, and Servius *Ad Aen*. 3.279. See also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 309, 345, 384–5, 391.
[56] See Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 50.
[57] Tatian *Ad Gr.* 33.2, l. 10 Marcovich; see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 367–9.

Greeks'), in which he fiercely attacks all things Greek. Tatian clearly knows that Sappho is a poet; he claims that she 'sang of her own lasciviousness' (*Ad Gr.* 33.5, l. 20, Marcovich, *τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσέλγειαν ᾄδει*) and he speaks of her as well as other women poets as 'poetesses' (*Ad Gr.* 34.6, l. 20, Marcovich, *ποιητρίας*). Tatian's description of Sappho, the poet, as a whore is evidently an attempt to denigrate her. Yet it would be mistaken to regard his violent attack on Sappho either as an expression of pure misogyny or, on the other hand, as a source of historical facts about the poet. When seen in its entirety, the text of Tatian clearly shows that his mission includes women, whom he considers to possess mental powers equal to those of men (cf. e.g. *Ad Gr.* 33.5, l. 19, Marcovich).[58] Tatian is clearly not drawing a line between men and women, but between Christians and pagan Greeks. And from the point of view of Tatian's main goal in his oration, which is to vilify the alleged greatness of the Greeks, he has every reason to denigrate Sappho. Sappho is the object of his attack not because she is a woman, but because she is one of the great Greeks, a status attested to by the honorific portrait that was made of her by Silanion, and which Tatian, some two hundred years after the statue was brought to Rome, was still able to see on public display in the city and criticize.[59]

Thus, when we scrutinize the confusing association between Sappho and the *hetaera*-figure more closely, it becomes apparent that these two figures relate to each other first and foremost as opposites; this is clearly so in the case of the lover of Sappho's brother (thus Herodotus, Posidippus, and Ovid) and less clear in the case of the homonymous *hetaera* (thus Nymphodorus, Didymus, Aelian, and the *Suda*-entries on 'Sappho'), the figure of whom may spring either from the confusion of Sappho with that same *hetaera* lover of her brother Charaxus, or perhaps quite simply from the general association of the business of poetry and artistic and intellectual activities with *hetaerae*, who were famously also skilled in various arts. However, a closer look at the association between Sappho and the *hetaera* also makes it clear that Sappho *the poet* is not usually identified with prostitution in the extant evidence of the ancient tradition and that in this tradition Tatian alone, for very specific purposes, plainly intends to denigrate her by describing her as a 'miserable little whore'.

[58] Cf. Thorsen (2012, pp. 695–6).
[59] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 18 and in this Chapter, pp. 29, 31.

Eroticism

Eroticism is perhaps the least obvious factor in the obstruction of our view of Sappho and her reception. Today Sappho is renowned as one of the greatest love poets of all time. It therefore appears somewhat odd that her extant poetry is so rarely erotic in the physical, sexual sense. Her fragments are indeed replete with the eroticism of love and longing; and yet, the poetry of Sappho that we possess records no physical caresses, no explicit sexual descriptions, not even one little kiss. This lack of explicit, physical eroticism is one of the major grounds on which scholars such as Welcker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Robinson championed Sappho's chastity.[60] Even in modern scholarship, Judith Hallett has pointed out the apparent conflict between Sappho's erotic reputation and the lack of physically erotic moments in her remaining fragments.[61] Against the background of Hallett's observations, Eva Stehle has forcefully defended an interpretation of Sappho's poems as sexually and even homosexually erotic.[62] Importantly for our purposes, whatever the form the eroticism of Sappho's lost poetry may have taken, the fact remains that Stehle's standpoint, which is widely accepted today, resonates strikingly with Sappho's Roman reception.

In ancient Rome, Sappho was certainly regarded as erotic, homoerotic, and, most importantly, erotopoetic, fundamentally a poet of passion.[63] In the case of Catullus, the most prominent object of erotic interest, with a name evoking both Sappho and explicitly sexual activities, is famously his Lesbia, 'the girl from Lesbos', who is examined closely in Gram's Chapter 5. Catullus, with his unabashed language and provocative imagery relating to human experiences of transgression, especially where eroticism is concerned, contributes through the figure of Lesbia to a tradition, mainly attested in the Roman era, of evoking Sappho in connection with titillating details of sexual behaviour. For example: the sexual act of fellatio is suggestively linked to Sappho in the poetry of Catullus;[64] Porphyrio, commenting on Horace's description of her as *mascula*, speculates on

[60] See Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 3–4, 6.

[61] Hallett (1979); it should be noted that Hallett (1979, p. 453) does consider the significance of the possible ὄλισβος ('dildo') of Sappho's fr. 99, but points out that it is yet to be understood how this item fits into the poetry of Sappho.

[62] Stehle (1979), see also Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 215, and n. 38.

[63] See Thorsen (2014a, pp. 143–6).

[64] See Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 107–14.

Sappho's nature as *tribas*, which can be understood as a woman who is sexually active in relationships with both male and female partners;[65] Sappho is depicted as climaxing in the earliest extant first-person description of an orgasm from a woman's point of view in literary history, at Ov. *Her.* 15.134;[66] and finally, Martial's Gongylion, in an epigram evoking the legacy of Sappho, apparently performs auto-cunnilingus.[67] Not surprisingly, such details have been the object of eager scrutiny by scholars, who relish minute details of spicy sexuality thinly veiled in philological seriousness, as the extensive discussion in Chapter 5 of the enigmatic *glubit* attests.[68]

As erotic object, Catullus' Lesbia also encompasses much more wide-reaching aspects of metapoetics. The tradition of making the name of a beloved woman such as Lesbia stand for the whole poem—or for the poetry in which she occurs—may go back at least as far as Callimachus' *aetion* about Cydippe.[69] Notably, Catullus' Lesbia is not alone in representing a combination of this tradition with the legacy of Sappho at this point in Roman literary history. As Adrian Hollis observes in the case of the poet Varro Atacinus, the mostly lost, younger contemporary of Catullus: 'Varro gave his beloved the pseudonym Leucadia . . . [P]seudonyms[70] [of beloved objects in Roman poetry] mostly fall into one of two classes, suggesting either titles of Apollo, the patron god of poetry, or Greek poetesses ([Sappho in the case of] Catullus' Lesbia and Ovid's Corinna). "Leucadia" cleverly combines both features', Hollis concludes,[71] as Sappho was famously supposed to have jumped from the Leucadian cliffs, where there was also a sanctuary of Apollo.[72] Catullus' Lesbia, by thus evoking a Greek woman poet, appears replete with a significance that is as much metapoetic as it is erotic.

The beloved as an embodiment of poetry is also famously exemplified in Propertius' Cynthia, a name that also evokes Apollo.[73] In Chapter 10,

[65] See Gram, Chapter 5, p. 106.

[66] See Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 49, and also Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 216, as well as Thorsen (2014a, pp. 15, 145).

[67] See Nisbet, Chapter 14, pp. 284–5.

[68] See Gram, Chapter 5, p. 108.

[69] Cf. Cameron (1995, pp. 255–61).

[70] '[P]robably a metrical equivalent of her real name', Hollis (2007, p. 212). Cf. Apul. *Apol.* 10.

[71] Hollis (2007, p. 212).

[72] The sanctuary for Apollo is recorded at Strabo 10.2.9 and Thuc. 1.29.3.

[73] Cynthius is an epithet for Apollo derived from Mount Cynthus on the island of Delos, where the god was born.

Heyworth shows that while it might be hard to detect explicit allusions and references to Sappho as a model poet in the Propertian corpus, the Sapphic implications of the figure of Cynthia go beyond the reductionist limits of the beloved-as-object. As Heyworth points out, Propertius dramatizes a subtle interplay of poetic I- and you-positions, reminiscent of the poetry of Sappho herself, when he compares Cynthia with Catullus' Lesbia (Prop. 2.32.45), whom Propertius also compares to Helen (Prop. 2.34.88, cf. also 2.32.45); in fact, Propertius also likens Cynthia to Helen directly (Prop. 2.3.31–40), and Helen, in her turn, appears as a vehicle of comparison for the beloved 'you' of the poetic 'I' in Sappho's fr. 23.[74] A line of succession is thus evoked in the person of Propertius' Cynthia, inasmuch as she is like Lesbia, who is like Helen, who is like Sappho's beloved. At the same time, the common quality of Sappho, Catullus, and Propertius as *poets* is underscored. What is more, Cynthia simultaneously caps both the Lesbia figure of Catullus and the Helen figure of Sappho by *being* a Sappho-figure and appearing unequivocally *docta* and a poet in her own right (Prop. 2.3.9–22).[75] In the case of Propertius' Cynthia, as Heyworth argues, the erotic object looks back.

The figure of the poet naturally emerges through Sapphic erotics in Ovid's *Heroides* 15, too. There is no doubt about the sexual proclivities of Sappho in this poem, which includes explicit references to homoeroticism (alongside her overall heteroerotic longing for the young man Phaon).[76] Furthermore, two particularly erotic passages feature in this poem (*Her*. 15.41–50 and *Her*. 15.125–34), of which the first refers to lovemaking in the past, while the second refers to lovemaking in fantasy, or a dream: the latter passage famously includes a description of Sappho climaxing as she fantasizes about Phaon in his absence.[77] Notably, Sappho's most explicit orgasm has lexical parallels only elsewhere in the Ovidian corpus,[78] and was apparently censored in the Middle Ages.[79] What is rarely noted, however, is that *both* of the explicitly erotic passages close with climaxes, although the first passage does so in a more suggestive and less provocative manner than the latter, in which Sappho is alone and may actually be masturbating.[80]

[74] For full quotation of the relevant fragments, see Heyworth, Chapter 10, pp. 187–8, 191–2.
[75] See Heyworth, Chapter 10, p. 192.
[76] See Ov. *Her*. 15.19, 201.
[77] See Ov. *Her*. 15.127–34.
[78] See Ov. *Ars* 2.684–92, 3.793–4, and Gibson (2003, p. 399).
[79] See Thorsen (2014a, pp. 13–16).
[80] Cf. e.g. Lipking (1988, p. 70).

In the first erotic passage Sappho recalls thus the past joys she shared with Phaon:

> at me cum legeres, etiam formosa uidebar:
> unam iurabas usque decere loqui;
> cantabam, memini—meminerunt omnia amantes—
> oscula cantanti tu mihi rapta dabas;
> haec quoque laudabas, omnique a parte placebam,
> sed tunc praecipue, cum fit amoris opus.
> tunc te plus solito lasciuia nostra iuuabat
> crebraque mobilitas aptaque uerba ioco,
> et quod, ubi amborum fuerat confusa uoluptas,
> plurimus in lasso corpore languor erat.
>
> (*Her.* 15.41–50)

> Yet, when you read me, I seemed beautiful too; you constantly swore it was fitting for me alone to speak. I sang, I remember—for lovers remember all — and while I sang you gave stolen kisses to me. These too you praised, and I pleased you in every way—but then above all when the work of love took place. Then did my playful ways delight you more than usual—the frequent movement, the jest that gave spice to our sport, and, when the joys of both had mingled into one, the deep, deep languor in our wearied frames.

Here, the conflation between the beloved as object and the poet as subject appears at its most succinct in the phrase *me cum legeres* ('when you read me'), which immediately renders Sappho *formosa* ('beautiful'),[81] both concretely as woman and metonymically as poetry, in a setting that stages the seamless transition between making poems and making love. The phrase *amoris opus* is here perfectly calibrated to convey both 'love-poetry' and 'sex' at the same time.[82] It is precisely this amalgamation of love as sex and love as poetry that proves particularly productive in Sappho's Roman reception, as explored in the present volume.

Concluding Remarks

Generalizing is a necessary but risky business in scholarship. Generalizations about Sappho tend to be linked to the elements in her reception history that have been described above as obstructions to our view of the poet proper and to the various ways in which she has been

[81] Cf. the discussion about Sappho's looks, pp. 30–4.
[82] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 6.

understood through time. Yet, as I hope to have shown, a closer look at the constituents of each of these obstructions themselves may actually help us to achieve transparency. This may prove true in the case of the material condition of Sappho's output, but even more so in those cases in which the scholarship omits relevant information about her, or even rejects evidence of her influence and importance by deeming it false. As we have seen, taking a closer look at Sappho's alleged ugliness reveals instead that most testimonies to Sappho's looks underscore her beauty. Similarly, there are far more testimonies confirming that Sappho dis-associated herself from a prostitute (Rhodopis/Doricha) than there are those claiming that Sappho was one herself.

These are all important insights; however, the most important from the point of view of Sappho's Roman reception is arguably that concerning Sapphic eroticism. The reason why Sapphic eroticism is so important is the close connection between erotics and metapoetics that surrounds the figure of Sappho in Roman poetry, and which reflects back on the figures of Roman poets themselves. Thus, if we (again) ask the principal questions in the field of reception studies, such as why particular authors and works are chosen for attention, and how this might reflect the cultural context of the receivers,[83] the interest of Roman male poets in the figure and poetry of Sappho reveals an often neglected, yet crucial counter-cultural aspect of the receiving society. As is well known, Roman society officially applauded traditional male and female ideals. From this point of view it would seem reasonable to suggest that 'contrary to the authors of the Classical period, the sexuality in Sappho's poetry troubled the Roman authors'.[84] And yet, when we scrutinize the complex interplay—especially regarding gender—of Sappho and Roman poetry, this observation seems only to scratch the surface of a phenomenon whereby Sapphic eroticism instead shows itself to be a catalyst for Roman poets, who are not troubled by her sexuality, but engaged by the fluidity of concepts of sex, gender, and sexuality in the broadest sense, including their own sexual identities. This engagement with eroticism appears crucially linked to their individual identities as poets. In fact, in this Roman universe of fiction, those who make poetry and those who make love seem to forge their identities into perfect matches for each other, by a process for which Sappho appears the authoritative model par excellence.

[83] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 5.
[84] Kivilo (2010, p. 191), cf. also Williamson (1995, p. 23).

2

Notes on the Ancient Reception of Sappho

Richard Hunter

There is, of course, more than one Roman mode of engagement with Sappho, though the trickle never seems to have become a flood.[1] One of the most striking moments in this history is Quintilian's account of Greek lyric:

> Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo quoque breuis et magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis, sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.
>
> Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.63
>
> Alcaeus is deservedly awarded a 'golden plectrum' for that part of his work in which he attacks tyrants and upholds proper morals; his style is concise and grand and accurate and largely like that of an orator. Nevertheless, he also wrote frivolously and stooped to love poetry, though he was more suited to higher themes.

Quintilian names and gives brief notices to four of the canon of Greek lyric poets (Pindar, Stesichorus, Alcaeus, Simonides, cf. *Inst.* 10.1.61–4), but notes that there were nine of them, thus passing by the other five in a way which calls attention to the omitted names. For Sappho, however, a

[1] The full pursuit of some of the very familiar and very complex issues touched on here would have led to a very different essay, and, particularly in the light of how rapidly the ground is moving in Sapphic studies, I have decided to leave this essay largely as it was drafted some years ago for the conference in Oxford. My thanks to Thea S. Thorsen for her invitation to the colloquium and her subsequent encouragement, and to Lucia Prauscello for her comments on an earlier draft. All translations are my own, unless I have indicated otherwise.

very special silence is reserved.[2] Quintilian's notice of Alcaeus evokes Horace's famous Underworld scene of *Odes* 2.13, where he describes the pleasure he so nearly experienced in the afterlife:

quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
sedesque discretas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus,
et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,
dura fugae mala, dura belli.
utrumque sacro digna silentio
mirantur umbrae dicere, sed magis
pugnas et exactos tyrannos
densum umeris bibit aure uolgus.

Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.21–32

How nearly did I see the kingdom of dusky Proserpina and Aeacus passing judgement and the seats set aside for the pious and Sappho complaining on her Aeolian lyre about the girls of Lesbos, and you, Alcaeus, singing in grander mode with your golden plectrum of the hardships at sea, the hardships of exile, and the hardships of war. The ghosts marvel at both of them as they sing songs worthy of reverend silence, but the dense mob, standing shoulder to shoulder, pay more attention to the fights and stories of tyrants banished.

The shades listen to the songs of both Sappho and Alcaeus, which are *sacro digna silentio*, but Quintilian both passes Sappho by in (very loud) silence, and also, through the allusion to Horace's poem, draws our attention to that *praeteritio*. For Quintilian her poetry was presumably nothing other than *lusus et amores*, whereas at least a part of Alcaeus' oeuvre was concerned with serious things (cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1.32).

Quintilian's assessment of Alcaeus shares certain features with that in the extant epitome of Book 2 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Imitation*, a work (also written in Rome) which has long been seen as either one of Quintilian's sources or as sharing common sources itself with Quintilian:

Ἀλκαίου δὲ σκόπει τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν, ὅσον αὐτῆς μὴ τῆι διαλέκτωι τι κεκάκωται·

[2] The remaining four are Alcman, Ibycus, Anacreon, and Bacchylides.

καὶ πρὸ ἁπάντων τὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων[3] ἦθος· πολλαχοῦ γοῦν τὸ μέτρον τις εἰ περιέλοι, ῥητορείαν ἂν εὕροι πολιτικήν.[4]

Dion. Hal. *De imit.* 2.8 (*Epitome*) = II 205.16–21 U-R

Observe Alcaeus' grandeur and concision and mixture of pleasantness with vehemence; observe too his figures and his clarity, inasmuch as it is not damaged by his dialect.[5] Above all, there is his political character: in many cases, if you took his metre away, you would find political rhetoric.

The *Epitome* preserves notices of the same four lyric poets as Quintilian, though the order in the two texts differs. The coincidence of the names suggests that the *Epitome* has not omitted any names, though it may have abbreviated the entries for those which it does preserve. Both Dionysius and Quintilian are concerned with the training of an orator or writer of πολιτικοὶ λόγοι ('political speeches'), and so it is perhaps unsurprising that Sappho does not get a look in. Nevertheless, this is not the only time in the Roman reception of Sappho when she will prove an awkward presence or absence.

When we consider the Roman reception of Sappho, we realize how many important frames of understanding we are lacking. Most importantly, of course, we still have very little of Sappho's poetry. Secondly, we have far too little of the Greek scholarship (of various levels of 'seriousness') on Sappho which presumably influenced, and may be reflected in, her Roman reception. I have suggested that in *Odes* 4.1 and 4.2 Horace reflects either Dionysius' discussion of Sapphic style in *De compositione uerborum* or something very like it;[6] we can certainly see how the probable placing of Sappho 1 at the head of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho has been used by Horace (*Carm.* 4.1), and we can ourselves use that placing to conclude that when, in *Heroides* 15,[7] Sappho

[3] ποιημάτων Usener. There is presumably some link between Quintilian's *moribus* and the ἦθος in the *Epitome* of Dionysius' work.

[4] Sic Usener: ῥητορικὴν . . . πολιτείαν P: ῥητορικὴν . . . πολι with lacuna HW. Lucia Prauscello points out how close this observation is to Pl. *Gorgias* 502c5–7 (Socrates is speaking), 'Tell me, if one were to strip all poetry of melody and rhythm and metre, what would be left except speeches (λόγοι)'; Socrates proceeds to conclude that poetry, though he is principally thinking of tragedy, is ῥητορικὴ δημηγορία ('deliberative rhetoric'). Dionysius of course knew the *Gorgias* very well.

[5] Dionysius' observation about the difficulty of Alcaeus' Lesbian dialect should make us wonder what Roman poets made of it, and to what—if any—extent they sought to compensate for or evoke this dialect in their own poetry which was indebted to Sappho or Alcaeus.

[6] See Hunter, Chapter 8.

[7] For the debate regarding the authenticity of *Heroides* 15, see Thorsen (2014a, pp. 96–122).

recalls how she imagined that Venus might carry Phaon *in caelum curru . . . eburno* (Ov. *Her*. 15.91, 'to heaven in an ivory chariot'), this is more likely than not to be an evocation (and reversal) of Aphrodite's descent in the same Sapphic poem. That fr. 1 contains the name of Sappho was, presumably, one factor in its positioning in the Alexandrian edition, and this may be reflected in the opening motif of *Heroides* 15:

> ecquid, ut aspecta est studiosae littera dextrae,
> protinus est oculis cognita nostra tuis?
> an, nisi legisses auctoris nomina Sapphus,
> hoc breue nescires unde ueniret opus?
>
> Ov. *Her*. 15.1–4

> When you glimpsed the letter formed by my eager hand, did your eyes know at once that they were mine? Or, had you not read Sappho as the author's name, would you not know the source of this brief work?

Sappho asks Phaon if he recognizes her handwriting and alludes (presumably) to a superscription such as *Sappho Phaoni sal.* or something similar; in asking the question, however, she both names herself (a very familiar hallmark of Sapphic poetry),[8] and replicates the onomastic 'seal' of the beginning of Sappho's collected edition. As for the tradition of biographical commentary, the very closeness of part of the preserved fragment of Chamaeleon's *On Sappho* (T 252 Voigt) to verses 31–6 of *Heroides* 15 suggests some of what we are missing:[9]

> κ[α]τηγόρηται δ' ὑπ' ἐν[ί]ω[ν] ὡς ἄτακτος οὖ[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε[ράσ]τρια. τὴν δὲ μορφὴν [εὐ]καταφρόνητος δοκεῖ γε[γον]έναι [κα]ὶ δυσειδεστάτη[[ν]], [τ]ὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄψιν φαιώδης [ὑ]πῆρχεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος μικρὰ παντελῶς.
>
> Chamaeleon fr. 27 Wehrli = Sappho T 252 Voigt (*P.Oxy*. 1800 fr. 1)[10]

> [Sappho] is accused by some of having been disorderly in her character and a woman who loved women. She seems to have been of very mean appearance and very ugly; her complexion was dark, and she was very short . . .

[8] For possible traces of a tradition of such a superscription recorded by the bibliophile Guido de Grana in thirteenth-century Paris, see Stagni (2006, p. 274, n. 113). See also Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 221, n. 64.

[9] See also Elisei, Chapter 12, pp. 230–3. On the Hellenistic reception of Sappho, see also Hunter, forthcoming.

[10] Cf. Thorsen, Introduction, p. 33, n. 30 regarding Chamaleon, and *P.Oxy*. 1800 fr. 1 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 369–71.

si mihi difficilis formam natura negauit,
ingenio formae damna repende[11] meae.
sum breuis, at nomen, quod terras impleat omnes,
est mihi; mensuram nominis ipsa fero.
candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo
Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae.

Ov. *Her.* 15.31–6

If grudging nature has denied me beauty, compensate by my talent for the loss of beauty. I am short, but I have a name which fills every land: my measure is that of my name. If I am not gleaming white, Perseus fell in love with Cepheian Andromeda, whose darkness was that of her homeland.

Somewhat later in *Heroides* 15 Sappho becomes coy about having sex and an orgasm in her sleep: *ulteriora pudet narrare, sed omnia fiunt:* | *et iuuat et siccae non licet esse mihi* (Ov. *Her.* 15.133–4, 'Shame prevents me telling more, but the whole thing happens: I feel pleasure and cannot stay dry').[12] Here it is presumably important not just that this seems to echo a preserved snatch of Sappho,[13] θέλω τί τ' εἴπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει | αἴδως (Sappho fr. 137 Voigt, 'I want to say something to you, but shame prevents me'), but also that the fragment was believed, by a tradition at least as early as Aristotle, to be part of a dialogue between Sappho and Alcaeus, i.e. between Sappho and an admiring man.[14] Without that knowledge, we cannot properly appreciate the wit of the poet of *Heroides* 15. As for the orgasm itself, it might be worth wondering whether *sed omnia fiunt* evokes ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον (Sappho fr. 31.17 Voigt, 'but all can be endured'), just as *siccae non licet esse mihi* may or may not be an interpretative rewriting of χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι (Sappho fr. 31.14–16 Voigt, 'I am greener than grass');[15] if any of this is on the right lines, then the poet of *Heroides* 15 would (once again) foreshadow those modern

[11] This is Bentley's emendation of the transmitted *rependo*, cf. Elisei, Chapter 12, p. 230, n. 8 and Thorsen (2014a, p. 106).

[12] See also Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 216.

[13] The very vexed issues surrounding the interpretation and even authorship of this fragment do not affect this point. It may also be worth suggesting that Penelope's remarkable account of dreaming that Odysseus 'slept beside her' (*Od.* 20.88–90), a dream that 'made her heart rejoice' (cf. *iuuat*), lies somewhere behind the Ovidian Sappho's much more explicit account.

[14] See Nagy (2007) and Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 132–6.

[15] For the various modern interpretations of Sappho's phrase cf. Zellner (2006).

interpreters of Sappho 31 who have 'read' that poem as depicting the poet's orgasm.[16]

In *Heroides* 15 the critical (in both senses) tradition is retrojected back to Sappho's own day when she tells Phaon that she loved her many girls *non sine crimine* (*Her*. 15.19, 'not without reproach'). The voice of *Heroides* 15 is of course a Sappho constructed both from her poetry and also from the commentary tradition, in the forefront of which stood the question of the exact nature of Sappho's relationship to the girls who fill her poems; it is this tradition which lies behind Horace's *temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho* (Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.28, 'manlike Sappho moulds her Muse by the rhythm of Archilochus'), however that verse is to be understood.[17] Chamaeleon, as we have seen (above p. 48), reports that Sappho 'had been accused by some people of being disorderly (ἄτακτος) in her character and a woman who loved women', and the *Suda* says much the same (Σ 107 = Sappho T 253 Voigt). Seneca famously mocks Didymus of Alexandria, who was working at the same time as the poets of the late Republic and early Empire, for an interest in this and other similarly fruitless subjects:

> quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit: misererer si tam multa superuacua legisset. in his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre uera, in his libidinosior Anacreon an ebriosior uixerit, in his an Sappho publica fuerit, et alia quae erant dediscenda si scires. i nunc et longam esse uitam nega.
>
> Seneca *Epist*. 88.37

> Didymus the grammarian wrote four thousand books; I would feel sorry for him if he had read so many unnecessary works. In the course of his writings he enquires into Homer's native city, the true identity of Aeneas' mother, whether Anacreon was more given to lust or drunkenness, whether Sappho was a common prostitute, and other matters which you would want to unlearn, should you know them. Off with you, and deny that life is long![18]

If it is unsurprising that some at least of Didymus' researches were 'biographical', this may nevertheless serve to remind us that no ancient poet posed more sharply the 'literature and life' question than did Sappho. In Latin literature we associate that question primarily with Catullus, and it is presumably no accident that it is Catullus who is as

[16] For further echoes of Sappho in *Heroides* 15, see Thorsen (2014a, pp. 49–68), Elisei, Chapter 12, p. 233, n. 18 and Thorsen, Chapter 13.

[17] For ancient interpretations of this verse, see Gram, Chapter 5, p. 106.

[18] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. xxx.

close to a 'Roman Sappho' as we have; one of the commentators on Horace *Epist*. 1.19.28 (= T 260c Voigt) defends Sappho as *non mollis, nec fracta uoluptatibus nec impudica*, 'no voluptuary, not broken by pleasures and not unchaste', and these are just the charges against which Catullus amusingly defends himself in Poem 16. That poem should indeed be considered (*inter alia*) as part of the Catullan self-positioning as a Sapphic voice, with Aurelius and Furius cast in the role of the critical tradition.

Beyond what survives of the critical tradition we would very much like to know more about how Sappho was 'conceived'. Did Catullus think of Sappho and Callimachus, the two Greek poets we know he translated, as belonging to different worlds and chronologies, or just as two Greek poets who could serve his needs in different ways?[19] He seems to have thought of them as connected in some way, and of course the Cologne Sappho,[20] which seems to be echoed by Callimachus in the 'Reply to the Telchines', has now deepened that particular plot. Tony Woodman has argued attractively that Sappho is echoed in Poem 65, the 'Callimachean' introduction to a translation from Callimachus,[21] and Poem 66 itself, with its female speaker, interest in female adornment and a wedding rite, is not very far from concerns of Sapphic poetry; not merely does 'the pathos [of Catull. 66] recall that of Sapphic poems of separation',[22] but *inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi* (Catull. 66.39, 'unwillingly, O queen, did I leave your head'), an all but certainly Callimachean verse which Apollonius may have echoed in the mouth of the virgin Medea,[23] may go back to something such as *Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω* (Sappho 94.5 Voigt, 'Sappho, truly I leave you behind unwillingly').[24] Thus Horace's (Callimachean) construction of Sappho as not a poet for the *uolgus* probably has earlier roots already in the Latin tradition.

In the second part of this paper I want to pick away at these two questions, namely the relationship between ancient scholarship and the

[19] Cf. Hunter (2006, p. 142) and Thorsen, Chapter 4.
[20] *P.Köln* 429, giving a new text of Sappho fr. 58 Voigt, cf. Gronewald and Daniel (2007).
[21] Woodman (2002, p 59); cf. further Acosta-Hughes (2010, p. 77).
[22] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, p. 87). On the Sapphic flavour of the 'Lock of Berenice' cf. further Vox (2000), Acosta-Hughes (2010, pp. 63–81); cf. Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 81, 84, 89.
[23] Ap. Rhod. 4.1019–22, cf. Hunter (1995, pp. 24–5).
[24] Cf. Vox (2000, p. 178), see also Elisei, Chapter 12, pp. 243–4.

Latin reception and, secondly, the question of Sappho's 'archaicness', through yet another look at Catullus 51:

ille mi par esse deo uidetur,
ille, si fas est, superare diuos,
qui sedens aduersus identidem te
spectat et audit
dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te,
Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mi
. . .
lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
flamma demanat, sonitu suopte
tintinant aures, gemina tegentur
lumina nocte.
otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est:
otio exsultas nimiumque gestis:
otium et reges prius et beatas
perdidit urbes.

He seems to me to be equal to a god, he, if it may be, seems to surpass the very gods, who sitting opposite you again and again gazes at you and hears you sweetly laughing. Such a thing takes away all my senses, alas! for whenever I see you, Lesbia, at once no sound of voice remains within my mouth, but my tongue falters, a subtle flame steals down through my limbs, my ears ring with inward humming, my eyes are shrouded in twofold night. Idleness, Catullus, does you harm, you riot in your idleness and wantonness too much. Idleness before now has ruined both kings and wealthy cities.

It would, on one hand, be remarkable if Catullus' translation of Sappho 31 did *not* reflect ancient discussion of that poem; the fact that not much of that discussion survives gives us license to push hard at it. Our principal witness is, of course, later in time than Catullus, namely [Longinus] *On the Sublime* 10.1–3, our primary source for Sappho's poem. [Longinus] introduces his citation of Sappho 31 by drawing our attention to Sappho's choice and combination of different *παθήματα* ('sufferings'), and after the citation he continues:[25]

οὐ θαυμάζεις ὡς ὑπ<ὸ τὸ> αὐτὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ἀκοὰς τὴν γλῶσσαν, τὰς ὄψεις τὴν χρόαν, πάνθ' ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ καθ' ὑπεναντιώσεις

[25] For the passage to which this quotation belongs, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 342–4.

ἅμα ψύχεται καίεται, ἀλογιστεῖ φρονεῖ †ἢ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἢ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν†[26] ἵνα μὴ ἓν τι περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος φαίνηται, παθῶν δὲ σύνοδος; πάντα μὲν τοιαῦτα γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας, ἡ λῆψις δ᾽ ὡς ἔφην τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἡ εἰς ταὐτὸ συναίρεσις ἀπειργάσατο τὴν ἐξοχήν. [Longinus] *Subl.* 10.3

Are you not amazed how at the same moment she seeks out soul, body, hearing, tongue, eyes, skin, all as though they belonged to someone else and had left her? With contradictory feelings she is cold and burning at the same time, out of her mind and in control . . . so that she reveals herself feeling not a single emotion, but a gathering of emotions. Lovers experience all of these things, but as I said, what makes this description superlative is how she takes up the fiercest of these and combines them into a unit.

Catullus' *omnis . . . sensus* may reflect an observation such as [Longinus'] reference to Sappho's παθῶν σύνοδος ('gathering of emotions'), whatever else has determined Catullus' severe reduction of Sappho's list of how her body is affected,[27] but of greater interest perhaps is the claim that Sappho πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ ('seeks out all as though they belonged to someone else'). This is the origin of so much that used to be written about Sappho's 'objective' description, but the resonances of [Longinus]' language have perhaps not yet been fully explored. The language of literary 'searching and finding', of *inuentio* (cf. e.g. Catull. 116.1), resonates here,[28] but if πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ could be said of anyone, it could be said of Catullus, for 'translation' is precisely the finding of the οἰκεῖον, 'what is one's own', in the ἀλλότριον, 'what belongs to someone else', *aliena* as Quintilian puts it in a discussion of paraphrase (Quint. *Inst.* 10.5.9). So too διοιχόμενα might suggest the poetry of the past, which is (again) where Catullus searches for 'his own emotions as though they were someone else's'; at the very least [Longinus]' account of Sappho's extraordinary poem may be suggestively applied to the process of translation.[29] There is indeed at least some reason for thinking that Catullus associated the idea of 'translation' with the adoption of a female voice, a voice in other words which really is ἀλλότριον, but which Catullus makes οἰκεῖον, whether through the address in 51 to the ambiguous Lesbia and (perhaps)

[26] Text uncertain; Mazzucchi and Russell, in the Loeb edition, accept Weiske's deletion of ἢ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἢ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν.

[27] For discussion and a survey of the views which have been held cf. e.g. Clark (2008).

[28] Cf. Hunter (2006, p. 31).

[29] For Poem 51 as a study of the process of translation and imitation cf. e.g. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, pp. 472–4).

the final *otium* stanza, or by juxtaposing 66 to a poem about separation from another beloved brother.

As for the *otium* stanza itself, there are two stylistic features, which call for notice in the present context. First, Demetrius, *De elocutione* 140–1 notes that 'charm' (χάριτες) arising from the use of forms of repetition, namely anadiplosis and anaphora, is particularly characteristic of Sappho, and he illustrates this feature with two examples, probably both drawn from wedding-songs (frr. 104a and 114 Voigt).[30] Catullus' familiarity with this Sapphic feature, if not also with the relevant critical tradition (whatever the date of the *De elocutione*), might be thought sufficiently established by the extensive use of repetition and anaphora in the 'Sapphic' wedding-song, Catull. 62 (cf. ll. 1, 3–4, 8–9, 12–13, etc).[31] It is tempting, then, to take the triple anaphora of *otium* in the final stanza of Poem 51 as a markedly 'Sapphic' feature (and cf. *ille* . . . *ille* and *deo* . . . *diuos*). Secondly, it may be that such changes of direction as that of the *otium* stanza were also seen as distinctively Sapphic,[32] though here the evidence is more fragile. A few chapters after his discussion of repetition in Sappho, Demetrius (*De eloc.*, 148) notes a different, but perhaps related, form of μεταβολή ('change') as indeed Sapphic:

ἔστι δέ τις ἰδίως χάρις Σαπφικὴ ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅταν τι εἰποῦσα μεταβάλληται καὶ ὥσπερ μετανοήσηι, οἷον ὕψου δή, φησί, τὸ μέλαθρον ἀέρατε τέκτονες· γαμβρὸς εἰσέρχεται ἶσος Ἄρηϊ, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου πολλῶι μείζων (fr. 111 V), ὥσπερ ἐπιλαμβανομένη ἑαυτῆς, ὅτι ἀδυνάτωι ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῆι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶι Ἄρηϊ ἴσος ἐστίν. Demetr. *De eloc.* 148[33]

Charm also arises from a kind of change which is peculiarly characteristic of Sappho. She says something, but then changes direction, as though changing her mind, such as 'Raise high the roof of the hall, builders! The bridegroom, the equal of Ares, is approaching, much taller than a tall man' (fr. 111 Voigt). It is as though she checks herself, because she has used an impossible hyperbole and no one is the equal of Ares.

[30] Marini (1995) surveys quotations of Sappho in Demetrius *De eloc*. See also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 320–3.

[31] See also Harrison, Chapter 7, p. 138.

[32] On the 'turn' in the final stanza of (probably) both Sappho and Catullus cf. e.g. Knox (1984), D'Angour (2006).

[33] I give the text of the quotation from Sappho in Demetrius' version (but with ὕψου for the transmitted *νίψω*), without seeking to restore the Sapphic text. Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 322.

It is of course a critical commonplace that, in marking a break in the poet's description of physical symptoms and a change of direction, the *otium* stanza may well have been imitative of the end of Sappho's poem (ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον . . .), but we should at least consider the possibility that such 'self-correction' had been theorized in Hellenistic criticism as a 'Sapphic' feature.[34] At the very least, there seem to be strong circumstantial reasons to believe that Catullus has completed his translation with a stanza which was not 'Sapphic', but was in the best Sapphic manner, as identified by part at least of the critical tradition, and this would be brilliantly in keeping with the best ancient practice and theory of imitation.[35]

Poetic reworkings of Sappho 31 may also be evidence for ancient discussion of that poem.[36] As is well known, for example, Sappho 31 is reworked in two separate passages of Simaetha's account of her sufferings in Theocritus 2 (Theoc. *Id.* 2.82–90, 106–10), and Roberto Pretagostini argued that whereas the first marked the onset of love, the second marked 'the fear of love (and love-making)',[37] though he did not go on to suggest that this reflected two different ways in which Sappho 31 had been understood in ancient tradition, as indeed it has in modern discussion.[38] Nevertheless, creative *mimesis* always involves interpretation as well, and the current example may be no exception. When Simaetha says that she was reduced to 'skin and bones' (Theoc. *Id.* 2.90), this may be no more than a very direct way of saying what Sappho had said, 'I seem little short of death', but nothing quite seems to correspond in Sappho to Theoc. *Id.* 2.89, ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες, 'all my hair was falling

[34] For a medical interpretation of Catullus' *otium*, see Woodman (2006).

[35] Relevant here is the observation of D'Angour (2006, p. 300) that the self-address *Catulle* in the opening verses of the final stanza may be intended as a 'Sapphic' feature; see also Ingleheart Chapter 11 for a similar point in Ovid, p. 216.

[36] Cf. e.g. Wills (1967) and Marcovich (1972).

[37] Pretagostini (1984, pp. 105–17); on the use of Sappho 31 in Theocritus 2 cf. also Timpanaro (1978, pp. 233–8) and Acosta-Hughes (2010, pp. 17–29), citing earlier bibliography.

[38] Ap. Rhod. 4.16–17 is an evocation of Sappho 31 in a context of panic, rather than erotic desire; given that Sappho 31 had been used in Book 3 to describe Medea's desire for Jason (Ap. Rhod. 3.284–90, 962–5), the repeated echo does not merely chart the consequences of Medea's desire (cf. Hunter 1987, p. 137, Acosta-Hughes 2010, pp. 42–5), but perhaps also reflects two different ancient understandings of the Sapphic poem. Apollonius' echoing phrases κάματος δυσίμερος (Ap. Rhod. 3.961) and πῆμα δυσίμερον (Ap. Rhod. 4.4) might almost be seen as glossing descriptions of or 'titles for' Sappho 31.

from my head'. Women who do suffer from hair-loss in Greek poetry are, however, the daughters of Proetus, afflicted with μαχλοσύνη ('lewdness, lust') and madness for an offence against Hera (or, just possibly, Dionysus):

> καὶ γάρ σφιν κεφαλῆισι κατὰ κνύος αἰνὸν ἔχευεν·
> ἀλφὸς γὰρ χρόα πάντα κατέσχεθεν, αἱ δέ νυ χαῖται
> ἔρρεον ἐκ κεφαλέων, ψίλωτο δὲ καλὰ κάρηνα.
>
> Hesiod fr. 133.3–5 MW = 82
> Most = 49 Hirschberger

On to their heads she poured a terrible scratching, and scabs seized all their skin, and their hair fell from their heads, and their beautiful crowns became bald.

Another verse, surely to be placed very close to this, identifies the cause of the problem: εἵνεκα μαχλοσύνης στυγερῆς τέρεν ὤλεσεν ἄνθος (Hesiod fr. 132 MW = 81 Most = 47 Hirschberger, 'Because of their hateful lewdness she destroyed their delicate flower'). This is just what happens to Simaetha (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 2.83 τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο). Simaetha, then, is made to evoke the lustful daughters of Proetus within a reworking of Sappho 31; this may reflect a moralistic reading of Sappho 31, which Simaetha 'unknowingly' evokes, and/or in trying to make her symptoms as graphic as possible, Simaetha goes beyond Sappho and, again 'unknowingly', condemns herself and her condition from her own mouth by the symptom which she adds to the Sapphic description. The evocation of the Proetides allows us to see how Theocritus then gives full weight to ὣς ἐμάνην (Theoc. *Id.* 2.82, 'I was seized with madness'), as the daughters of Proetus really did go mad. If this suggestion is correct, it may help with the appearance in *Eclogue* 6 (Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48–51) of the Proetides (daughters of Proetus); whatever their place in Calvus[39] or any other Latin poetry to which Vergil there alludes, we now have a place for them in Vergil's main model, Theocritus.[40]

A second passage which falls broadly into the same category is Lucretius' reworking of Sappho 31:[41]

[39] Calvus' *Io*, cf. frr. 20–5 Hollis.

[40] Any full discussion of this passage would have to factor in other 'bad' women from Greek poetry: we might think particularly of Neoboule, another μαινόλις γυνή ('raving woman') who has had too much sex, in Archilochus' Cologne epode (a passage well known to Theocritus, cf. Theoc. *Id.* 7.121).

[41] See also Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 68.

> uerum ubi uementi magis est commota metu mens,
> consentire animam totam per membra uidemus
> sudoresque ita palloremque exsistere toto
> corpore et infringi linguam uocemque aboriri,
> caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,
> denique concidere ex animi terrore uidemus
> saepe homines: facile ut quiuis hinc noscere possit
> esse animam cum animo coniunctam, quae cum animi ui
> percussast, exim corpus propellit et icit.
>
> Lucr. 3.152–60

> When the mind is moved by a more powerful fear, we see the whole soul through the body share this feeling, with sweating and pallor over the whole body, the tongue broken, the voice fading away, the eyes covered in darkness, the ears ringing, the limbs failing; in short we often see men collapsing because of the mind's terror. From this anyone could easily recognize that the soul is linked to the mind, for when the soul is struck by the strength of the mind, it drives the body forward and propels it.

Lucretius is discussing the relation between the *animus* ('mind') and the *anima* ('soul'), and here he explains how, when the governing *animus* or *mens* ('mind') receives a very powerful emotional stimulant, in this case fear, then there is a bodily reaction as well, i.e. the pattern is *animus* upon *anima* upon *corpus*. We can use this passage, as for example Franco Ferrari has done,[42] to seek to understand the nature of what is happening to Sappho in fr. 31 (panic attack or erotic desire?), but other, more limited conclusions may also be drawn. One thing Lucretius wants to teach us here is not merely that effects upon the *animus* can produce bodily reactions, but that the governing *animus* is located, not in the head, but in the middle of the chest (cf. Lucr. 3.140). Echoes of Sappho 31 were appropriate for making both of these points, with καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν (fr. 31.6 Voigt, 'heart . . . in the breast') particularly suited to Lucretius' argument. The argument, and its nature, would be related to one made on more than one occasion by Plutarch (cf. *Mor.* 442d–e) in discussing not the body's emotional collapse, but rather the controlling power of reason over the reactions of the body. Odysseus' reason was so strong, we are told, that, though his wife was weeping beside him and he felt pity for her, θυμῶι μὲν γοόωσαν ἑὴν ἐλέαιρε γυναῖκα, | ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὡς εἰ κέρα ἕστασαν ἠὲ σίδηρος | ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι· δόλωι δ' ὅ γε δάκρυα

[42] Cf. Ferrari (2010, pp. 175–6).

κεῖνθεν (*Od.* 19.210–12, 'his eyes were fixed motionless in their lids, like horn or iron, and with guile did he conceal his tears'); Odysseus is thus a kind of inversion of Sappho in fr. 31, or vice versa.[43] The use of archaic poetry to illustrate a very 'modern' psychological account would, of course, have been regular in Plutarch's Hellenistic sources, and once again we can get some sense of the ancient discussion we are missing. When [Longinus] notes how Sappho brings 'soul and body' together, he need not of course be reflecting any such discussion, but he might be.

In turning to the question of Sappho's 'archaicness', we could begin, for example, from Syndikus's helpful survey, which notes how in Poem 51 Catullus has transformed Sappho's 'archaic style' (e.g. simple, paratactic listing of symptoms) into one marked by Hellenistic sensibility.[44] There may well be something in this, but I want rather to approach this question (again) by considering Catullus 50 and 51 as a diptych.[45] Much in Poem 50 does indeed seem to look forward to 51 (e.g. Catull. 50.13 foreshadows the impossibility of speech), and the speaker of Catullus 51 or indeed Sappho 31 could easily have uttered 50.16–17, 'I wrote you this poem so that you could realize my pain'. The best modern discussion of the poems as a diptych is that of David Wray,[46] but when he observes that the description of 'erotic distress' in the two poems is 'strikingly similar' (p. 98) we should, I think, pause. The symptoms of desire in 50 are largely behavioural—no appetite, inability to sleep, tossing and turning leading (admittedly) to desperate weariness, whereas in Sappho 31 and Catullus 51 they are largely internal and physical. There is, of course, no firm distinction to be drawn, but when we put the poems together, what should strike us is in fact the difference between them. In Sappho and in Catullus 51 we have a 'fine fire', whereas in 50 the poet is *tuo lepore | incensus . . . facetiisque* (Catull. 50.7–8, 'fired by your wit . . . and fun'), and we seem to have crossed the line into metaphor; Sappho

[43] It is worth noting in this context that when Sappho hears the news of Phaon's departure in *Heroides* 15 and we have an evocation of fr. 31, one of her symptoms is *lacrimae deerant oculis* (l. 111), for which there is no parallel in Sappho or Catullus, cf. Thorsen (2014a, pp. 64–5). One of the most striking uses of Sappho 31 in subsequent literature is Plut. *Mor.* 81d–e, where Sappho's 'broken tongue' and 'fire under the skin' are signs not of erotic desire, but of a previously self-confident young man who has started to make real progress in philosophy, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 350–1.

[44] Syndikus (1984, pp. 255–6).

[45] Cf. Hunter (2007, p. 221), and Chapter 8, p. 160.

[46] Wray (2001, pp. 95–109).

sees nothing, and in 51 the poet's eyes are 'hidden in night' (*gemina teguntur | lumina nocte*), whereas in 50 'sleep will not cover the eyes in rest', *nec somnus tegeret quiete ocellos* (Catull. 50.10, 'nor sleep spread rest over my eyes'), where the similarity of vocabulary between the poems merely calls attention to the difference. Is this difference perhaps a marker of what we might call the 'modernity' of Poem 50, i.e. the evolution of a metaphorical language of desire, itself owing much to Sappho, but distinguished in various ways from her poetic mode? When at the opening of *Amores* 1.2 Ovid describes his symptoms, they are precisely the symptoms of Catullus 50, not 51; this is how love is for the 'modern' poet. The suggestion then is that Poems 50 and 51 may at least allow us to approach the question of Catullus' placing of Sappho within literary history, even if most of the answer remains shrouded in darkness.

3

Lucretius and Sapphic *uoluptas*

Laurel Fulkerson

To those studying Lucretius from the point of view of Latin poetry, the increasing recognition of Lucretius' sophistication may come as something of a relief, for most of our 'better' poets seem to view him as a valuable source of inspiration, and it is reassuring to think that they were not mistaken in thinking so highly of his poetic gifts.[1] Now the way has been cleared for allusion-hunters, and they have found some poetic influences which seem obviously appropriate to Lucretius' aims and genre, and others that are less so.[2] Yet, while Lucretian revisions of

[1] See West (1969), Kenney (1970), Gale (2007), and Lehoux, Morrison, and Sharrock (2013). Regarding the doctrine of Epicurean rejection of art and the seemingly contradictory artistic approach of Lucretius' poem, Marcović (2008, p. 49) notes the centrality of poetry to educational systems in antiquity. Some, such as Gale (1994a), attempt to reconcile the apparently divergent views; others adduce the (other) Epicurean poet Philodemus, or reinterpret the passages from Epicurus that seem to forbid poetry (Asmis 1995; but see the entire volume in which that essay appears). The question is still worth considering, but Volk voices the now-standard view when she claims that '[w]hile earlier critics liked to think of Lucretius as an archaizing poet untouched by the ideals of the "new" (Neoteric, Callimachean) poetic ideals of his time, recent scholars have rightly pointed out his debts to Callimachus and Hellenistic poetry in general' (2002, p. 88, n. 53). See too Volk's (2002, pp. 94–118) discussion.

[2] Of Lucretius' epic predecessors, reference has been found to Homer (Ingalls 1971 and Aicher 1991) and Ennius (Roller 1988, and the explicit acknowledgement in Lucr. 1.117–19). For scientific poems, Empedocles (Furley 1964, Kenney 1970, Clay 1983, pp. 22–3, and Sedley 1989 with the strongest claim of poetic influence at 288, and the explicit acknowledgement at Lucr. 1.716–41). For specific details, prose writers such as Thucydides (Kenney 1977, p. 28 and Clay 1983, pp. 22–3), Plato (Shorey 1901 and De Lacy 1983) and Theophrastus (Kenney 1970, p. 24), and poets such as Euripides (Kenney 1970, p. 28) have also been cited. There has even been debate about allusions to Callimachus

Homer have been noted, those of the Greek lyric poets have largely yet to be explored.[3] Even a more expansive understanding of Lucretius' poetic purposes has been loath to see him as moved by a desire for emulation of poets whose aims are so different from his own; the incorporation of Greek lyric in a work of philosophy is, despite Platonic precedents, so worryingly likely to be 'just for show' that it might even have seemed disrespectful to attribute it to the serious and sober (if also intermittently insane) Lucretius.[4]

This piece discusses three potential Lucretian allusions to Sappho, then points to some reasons why Sappho might have been a good choice for what Lucretius seems to have been trying to accomplish. Although most of the Sapphic allusions discussed here have previously been noted, this study is, to my knowledge, the first systematic treatment of the subject of Lucretius' relationship to Sappho. Because allusivity is not an exact science, and some readers will be more convinced than others, I eschew argument about particular points of contact, emphasizing instead what we might gain by taking them as understood.

Opening Pleasures

Lucretian allusions to Sappho occur in programmatically significant places in the poem, such as its first lines. In the first twenty-eight lines of the *De rerum natura*, Lucretius asks Venus for help,[5] explaining that

(Kenney 1970, p. 370; Brown 1982, pp. 80–2; Graca 1989, pp. 67–70; and Donohue 1993, pp. 35–48; contra, Knox 1999, p. 277) and to the neoteric poets (notably Catullus, see Ferrero 1949 and below, pp. 73–4).

[3] This is perhaps due to the lyric poets' less philosophical worldview. Kenney's article provides a welcome exception; he sees in the 'diatribe against love' in Book 4 numerous references to earlier Greek lyric poets and to the *Greek Anthology* (1970, pp. 381–8). In the same vein, O'Hara (1998) finds an allusion to Simonides in the proem to Book 1 (see n. 2). Sappho herself remains ambiguous in this context, see p. 74.

[4] Indeed, the clearest Sapphic allusion in Lucretius was often understood by previous generations to be either a coincidence or to have been already present in some Epicurean source (pp. 68–9 and n. 22). The bibliography is full of discussions of 'mad Lucretius', a notion which famously derives from Jerome's additions to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (Euseb. *Chron.* 231F, Helm 1984, p. 149).

[5] Cf. Thévenaz, Chapter 6, p. 127. Much of the bibliography on the subject of Venus in the poem connects her to the Epicurean *hedone*/*uoluptas*, of which she is the embodiment, and/or notes that Venus is the patron goddess of Memmius. As often in poetry, the metaphor seems to be serving multiple functions, cf. Elder (1954). On the significance of *uoluptas* in Lucretius, see Farrington (1952).

she is the generative force for all life. Thus far it is a standard proem, however oddly it sits with what comes later and however unusual it is to replace the Muse with the un-epic Venus. Among the numerous attentions paid to the proem have been an impressive number of posited poetic antecedents.[6] One of them, probably, is an allusion to Sappho 1.28. We begin with the first part of the proem:[7]

Aeneadum genetrix, hominum diuumque uoluptas,
alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
quae mare nauigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
concipitur uisitque exortum lumina solis:
te, dea, te fugiunt uenti, te nubila caeli
aduentumque tuum, tibi suauis daedala tellus
summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.
nam simul ac species patefactast uerna diei
et reserata viget genitabilis aura fauoni,
aeriae primum volucris te, diua, tuumque
significant initum perculsae corda tua ui.
inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta
et rapidos tranant amnis: ita capta lepore
te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis.
denique per maria ac montis fluuiosque rapacis
frondiferasque domos auium camposque uirentis
omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem
efficis ut cupide generatim saecla propagent.
quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas
nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam,
te sociam studeo scribendis uersibus esse,
quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor
Memmiadae nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni
omnibus ornatum uoluisti excellere rebus.
quo magis aeternum da dictis, diua, leporem.
effice ut interea fera moenera militiai
per maria ac terras omnis sopita quiescant.

[6] Notably the *Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite* (Flores 1979, p. 241), Parmenides, Empedocles (Carver 1965, p. 63), Simonides (O'Hara 1998), Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Aratus' *Phaenomena* (Gale 1994a, p. 210), and Ennius. In what follows, I shall limit discussion only to potentially Sapphic elements.

[7] The text is Bailey's; translations of Lucretius are adapted from Bailey (1947). I cite at such length here for ease of reference later.

nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuuare
mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mauors
armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se
reiicit aeterno deuictus uulnere amoris,
atque ita suspiciens tereti ceruice reposta
pascit amore auidos inhians in te, dea, uisus
eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.
hunc tu, diua, tuo recubantem corpore sancto
circumfusa super, suauis ex ore loquellas
funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem;
nam neque nos agere hoc patriai tempore iniquo
possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago
talibus in rebus communi desse saluti.

Lucr. 1.1–43

Progenitor of the sons of Aeneas, joy of men and gods, Venus the life-giver, who, beneath the gliding stars of heaven fill with your presence the sea that carries ships and the land that bears crops; for thanks to you every tribe of living things is conceived and comes forth to look upon the light of the sun. You, goddess, turn to flight the winds and clouds of heaven, you at your arrival; for you, earth, the quaint artificer, puts forth her sweet-scented flowers; for you the levels of ocean smile, and the sky, its anger past, gleams with spreading light. For once the face of the spring day is revealed and the teeming breeze of the west wind is loosed from prison and blows strong, first the birds of air herald you, goddess, and your approach, their hearts thrilled with your might. Then wild beasts and cattle bound over the fat pastures, and swim the racing rivers; so surely enchained by delight each follows you in hot desire wherever you hasten to lead him on. Then, through seas and mountains and tearing rivers and the leafy haunts of birds and verdant plains you strike fond love into the hearts of all, and make them in hot desire to renew the stock of their races, each according to its own kind. And since you alone guide the nature of things, and nothing comes forth into the bright shores of light without your aid, nor grows glad or beautiful, I am eager that you be my ally in writing these verses, with which I strive to lay bare the nature of things for the son of Memmius, my friend, whom you, goddess, through all his life have willed to be bright with every grace beyond his fellows. Wherefore all the more, goddess, give a permanent luster to my words. Make it pass that in the meantime the wild works of war may be lulled to sleep over all the seas and lands. For you alone can bless mortal men with quiet peace, since Mars, lord of warcraft, directs the wild deeds of war, and he often throws himself into your lap, conquered by the eternal wound of love, and then, pillowing his shapely neck upon you and looking up, he feeds his greedy eyes with love, gazing wistfully upon you while, as he lies back, his breath hangs upon your lips. Do you, goddess, as he leans resting upon your sacred limbs, bend to embrace him and pour forth sweet petition from your lips, seeking, great lady, gentle peace for the Romans. For

neither can we in our country's time of trouble set to our task with an undistressed mind, nor amid such doings can the noble offspring of Memmius fail the fortunes of the state.

The projected appearance of Venus may be meant to invoke, among other things, Sappho 1:

Ποικιλόθρον᾽ ἀθάνατ᾽ Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ᾽ ἄσαισι μήδ᾽ ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,
ἀλλὰ τυῖδ᾽ ἔλθ᾽, αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες
ἄρμ᾽ ὐπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ᾽ ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὠράνω αἴθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω·
αἶψα δ᾽ ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ᾽, ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαίσαισ᾽ ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι,
ἤρε᾽ ὄττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κὤττι
δηῦτε κάλημμι
κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλαι θύμωι· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
. . . σάγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ᾽, ὦ
Ψάπφ᾽, ἀδίκησι;
καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ᾽, ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.
ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ᾽ αὔτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

Sappho 1 Voigt

On your dappled throne, eternal Aphrodite, cunning daughter of Zeus, I beg you, Lady, do not crush me with love's pain, but come to me now, if ever before you heard my cry from afar, and yielded, slipping from your father's gold house, and came, yoking birds to your chariot. Beautiful swift sparrows took you from heaven through the middle sky, whipping wings, down to the dark earth. Blessed, with a smile on your deathless lips, you asked what was wrong now, why did I call you, what did my mad heart want to happen.

> 'Sappho, whom shall I get to love you? Who is turning against you? Let her run away, soon she'll be after you. Scorn your gifts? Soon she'll bribe you. Not love? She'll love you, even unwillingly. So come to me once again and free me from wretched agony. Labor and fill my heart with its fire, and be my ally.[8]

Flowers, smiling, and the like are probably to be associated more generally with the attributes of 'laughter-loving' Aphrodite rather than bringing to mind any specific incarnation of her.[9] Indeed, in Lucretius' proem, if nowhere else, Venus seems to be invoked as a traditional 'love-goddess', as can be seen by her progenitive force;[10] for this intimately-involved Venus, as many have noted, fades away, to be replaced by a much more generic generative power. But the structure of the proem is, broadly speaking, hymnic: praise of the deity is followed by a specific request; here again this is not unique to these two passages, but is rather a generic convention. And indeed, the two poets describe the goddess in rather different ways: Sappho presents a lively picture of her appearance, while Lucretius prefers to describe her effects on the world;[11] as we shall see, this difference is significant, and adumbrates one reason why Sappho's Aphrodite might have been such a compelling model.

In *De rerum natura* 1.24, Lucretius asks Venus to be his *socia*; Sappho had requested that Aphrodite be her *summachos* (1.28). It has been noted that *socia* is a translation of the Greek *epikouros*, so this allusion works on a number of levels.[12] The bilingual reader (and Lucretius is certainly writing for such a reader)[13] may first activate either the reference to Sappho or that to Epicurus, but both are present. This is not, as it happens, a Homeric phrase; *summachos* does not appear in extant Homer, and *esso*

[8] Translations of Sappho are modified from Barnstone (1988).

[9] The word *dias* (1.22) is identified by Bailey as being Homeric (1947, *ad loc.*), and Flores has noted the 'Homeric antecedents' in the description of Venus—but many of these are also Sapphic, even if they do not appear in this particular poem, e.g. *himeros* and *uoluptas* (Flores 1979, pp. 238–9); *blandum* and *glucun* (Flores 1979, p. 240).

[10] Hahn (1966, p. 137).

[11] Hahn (1966, p. 135).

[12] The earliest discussion I have found of the parallel is in Mossino (1977, p. 148), but Flores (1979) is a close second (242 no. 19). Gale (1994a, p. 137) seems to have been the first to note the bilingual pun with the name of Epicurus. Snyder (1980, pp. 107–8) notes another pun on the name of Epicurus at Lucr. 3.1042–4.

[13] Lucretius' audience is likely to have been the Roman elite; Schrijvers (1970, p. 35, n. 47) notes the bilingualism of Lucretius. See too the discussion of Sedley (1999, pp. 227–8), who concludes that Lucretius avoids technical Greek, using that language instead to make particular passages feel 'exotic and alien'.

is rare.[14] And it is perhaps significant that this portion of Lucretius' proem is twenty-eight lines, the same length as Sappho's poem.[15]

If we accept this as a reference to Sappho, the question remains why Lucretius would be interested in this particular poem. In it, Aphrodite has been turned into a warrior, fighting on the side of Sappho. Homeric battle imagery has been altered by Sappho into love imagery, and for what may be the first time in Western literature, we see the notion that love is like war.[16] Yet the Sapphic poem is not itself unambiguously optimistic: Aphrodite's speech emphasizes the natural reversals in love rather than offering any form of permanent stability.[17] Indeed, the very fact of Aphrodite's repeated interventions suggests a situation of constant volatility in love-matters. This has some interesting implications.

The first is a matter of physics: seen through the eyes of Lucretius, even Sappho's Aphrodite becomes rather like Empedocles' impersonal Love, a force that brings things together. What looked like a personal relationship with a powerful divinity turns out to be merely human delusion (after all, Aphrodite's agreement to Sappho's proposal is nowhere recorded).[18] If the full resonances of the Sapphic poem are meant to be activated in Lucretius' proem, we gain, even before the striking Iphigeneia scene, an example of how mortals harm themselves by imagining all-powerful gods interested in their daily lives.

The second strand I want to highlight is how already in Sappho the instability of human erotic attachment is emphasized. This is, of course, a leitmotif of Epicurean, and also Lucretian, polemic: as Lucretius will suggest in 4.1058–1287, the best possible attitude to take to love is one of amused detachment. So we might say that the Lucretian allusion activates a kind of 'anti-Sappho in Sappho', undermining the foundations on which she stands.[19]

[14] Rissman (1983, p. 25, n. 36). O'Hara (1998, pp. 71–2) has seen a further reference, to the proem of Simonides' poem on the battle of Plataea, which he considers a closer parallel than the Sappho reference.

[15] Hahn (1966, p. 134). Other correspondences Hahn has found include that each begins with vocative (1966, p. 135) and includes imperatives (1966, p. 136) and that each comprises a single sentence (1966, p. 136).

[16] There is extensive discussion of this notion in Rissman (1983), see also Thorsen, Chapter 9, *passim*.

[17] Stanley (1976, p. 320). [18] Stanley (1976, p. 316).

[19] I refer to Patin's (1868) famous 'anti-Lucrèce' theory, which posited inconsistencies in the *De rerum natura* as resulting from a deeply divided spirit within the poet himself. For a more sensible attempt to explain the same data, see O'Hara (2007, pp. 55–76).

Disease and Pleasure

The next instance I want to treat is a passage which uses vivid disease imagery to show what fear looks and feels like. Juxtaposition of Lucr. 3.152–60 shows a clear connection with Sappho 31:[20]

uerum ubi uementi magis est commota metu mens,
consentire animam totam per membra uidemus
sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto
corpore et infringi linguam uocemque aboriri,
caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,
denique concidere ex animi terrore uidemus
saepe homines; facile ut quiuis hinc noscere possit
esse animam cum animo coniunctam, quae cum animi <ui>
percussast, exim corpus propellit et icit.

Lucr. 3.152–60

But indeed, when the understanding is stirred by some stronger fear, we see that the whole soul feels with it throughout the limbs, and then sweat and pallor break out over all the body, and the tongue is crippled and the voice is choked, the eyes grow misty, the ears ring, the limbs give way beneath us, and indeed, we often see men fall down through the terror in their mind; so that anyone at all may easily learn from this that the soul is linked in union with the mind; for when it is smitten by the force of the mind, straightaway it strikes the body and pushes it on.

Φάινεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐναντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-
σας ὐπακούει
καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ 'μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·
ὠς γὰρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω βρόχε' ὡς με φώνη-
σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει,
ἀλλὰ †καμ† μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε†, λέπτον
δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιβρό-
μεισι δ' ἄκουαι,
†ἐκαδέ† μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης
φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ[αι.
ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ †καὶ πένητα†

Sappho fr. 31 Voigt

[20] See also Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 57.

> To me he seems like a god as he sits facing you and hears you near as you speak softly and laugh in a sweet echo that jolts the heart in my ribs. For now as I look at you my voice is empty and can say nothing as my tongue breaks and slender fire runs quick under my skin. My eyes are dead to light, my ears pound, and sweat pours over me. I convulse, paler than grass, and feel my mind slip as I come close to death, yet, being poor, must suffer everything . . .

Nearly every one of the standard commentaries cites at 155 the broken tongue of Sappho 31, though with varying degrees of confidence that it alludes directly to that poem—and some cite it at 154 and 156 as well.[21] So this seems to be the most widely accepted allusion to Sappho in Lucretius.[22] Again, the interesting question for me is why this passage, and why here? Sappho 31 is itself a neat reversal of the Homeric experience of doing battle with a superior: those heroes who can stand up to impressive-looking foes are seen as godlike. But Sappho's poem changes the nature of the fear; once again, war becomes love.[23] Lucretius reverses this reversal—the symptoms of love are now fear again—and thereby suggests the unstable nature of all vividly felt human emotions.

More specifically, as in his treatment of Sappho 1, Lucretius again undermines a Sapphic conception of love: not only is love not much different from terror,[24] it is in itself dangerous, as leading to potential separation between soul and body. So in Lucretius, the Sapphic metaphor becomes a disturbing reality.

Pleasing Imagery and Metapoetics

In Book 1 of *De rerum natura*, there is a discussion of poetry at 1.921–50, the last twenty-five lines of which also appear as the proem to Book 4 (i.e. they introduce the second half of the work):[25]

[21] See also Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 57.

[22] W. Ferrari's article seems to have settled scholarly doubt on whether there is a connection between the two passages; see in particular his chart of similarities (1937, p. 141) and add, possibly, Rissman (1983, p. 110, n. 22 on *ptoieo* and *paueo*). At the same time, however, scholarship has hesitated to attribute the allusion to Lucretius himself, believing that he found it in an Epicurean predecessor, see, e.g. Herrmann (1956, p. 471) and, more tentatively, Henderson (1970, p. 742) and Fowler (2000, pp. 149–52). There may also be Lucretian allusions to Sappho's poem in Lucr. 2.944–6, 3.398–401, and 3.592–602, but they are less closely parallel.

[23] Cf. Turyn (1929, pp. 44–5, 52–5), Wills (1967b, pp. 174–5, n. 18), Marcovich (1972, p. 26), Rissman (1983, pp. 72–5).

[24] W. Ferrari (1937, p. 140).

[25] Gale (1994b), a recent discussion of the proper location(s) of the passage, determines that it is integrated, and so belongs, in both places. Strictly speaking, the location of the

Nunc age, quod superest, cognosce et clarius audi.
nec me animi fallit quam sint obscura; sed acri
percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor
et simul incussit suauem mi in pectus amorem
Musarum, quo nunc instinctus mente uigenti
auia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
trita solo. iuuat integros accedere fontis
atque haurire iuuatque nouos decerpere flores
insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
unde prius nulli uelarint tempora Musae;
primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis
religionum animum nodis exsoluere pergo,
deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango
carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.
id quoque enim non ab nulla ratione uidetur;
sed ueluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flauoque liquore,
ut puerorum aetas inprouida ludificetur
labrorum tenus, interea perpotet amarum
absinthi laticem deceptaque non capiatur,
sed potius tali pacto recreata ualescat,
sic ego nunc, quoniam haec ratio plerumque uidetur
tristior esse quibus non est tractata, retroque
uulgus abhorret ab hac, uolui tibi suauiloquenti
carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram
et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle,
si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenere
uersibus in nostris possem, dum perspicis omnem
naturam rerum, qua constet compta figura.

Lucr. 1.921–50

Come now, learn what remains, and listen to clearer words. Nor do I fail to see in my mind how dark are the ways; but a great hope has smitten my heart with the sharp goad of fame, and at once has struck into my breast the sweet love of the Muses, whereby now inspired with strong mind I traverse the pathless haunts of the Pierides, never trodden before by the foot of man. It is my joy to approach those untasted springs and drink my fill; it is my joy to pluck new flowers and gather a glorious garland for my head from spots

passage is irrelevant for my arguments; as the start of the second half of the poem, it holds a place of special prominence, but its subject is so noteworthy that even in Book 1 it is hardly likely to be overlooked by readers. As Gale (1998, p. 58) notes, the entirety of Book 1 is programmatic in its own way.

> whence before the Muses have never wreathed the forehead of any man. First, because I teach about great things, and hasten to free the mind from the close bondage of superstition, second because on a dark theme I trace verses so full of light, touching all with the charm of the Muses. For that too is seen to be not without good reason; but even as healers, when they attempt to give loathsome wormwood to children, first touch the rim all around the cup with the sweet golden moisture of honey, so that the unwitting age of children may be beguiled as far as the lips, and meanwhile may drink the bitter draught of wormwood, and though charmed may not be harmed, but rather by such means may be restored and come to health; so now, since this philosophy very often seems too bitter to those who have not tasted it, and the multitude shrinks away from it, I have desired to set forth to you my reasoning in the sweet–tongued song of the Muses, and as though to touch it with the pleasant honey of poetry, if perchance I might avail by such means to keep your mind set upon my verses, while you come to see the whole nature of things, what is its shape and figure.

This is a passage of particular importance for the understanding of Lucretius' poetic principles (and indeed, it is perhaps even more discussed than the proem to Book 1). Lucretius seems to be showing his hand, warning the reader that his charm is such that they may find themselves philosophers if they are not careful. Some, notably Mitsis,[26] find this a disturbing passage, as it suggests less than full autonomy on the part of the reader, who must be coerced. But, as Volk notes:

> . . . the poet has created a powerful nexus of concepts that works on the audience at a probably less than wholly conscious level. In a sense, [the passage] is a perfect illustration of the honeyed-cup simile; without ever fully noticing how we arrived at this conclusion in the first place, we may come away from the *De rerum natura* thinking that a poem about Epicurean physics is *non ab nulla ratione*.[27]

Let us examine Lucretius' imagery a bit more closely. The passage is rife with Greek notions and Greek-sounding words,[28] most of them with poetic implications. Aside from the road less taken and the pure spring, which may or may not be specifically Callimachean (about this there is much debate),[29] the garland of song is a standard poetic trope: Waszink connects it to Ennius,[30] and Lenaghan discusses its bacchic implications.[31]

[26] Mitsis (1993). [27] Volk (2002, p. 99). [28] Sedley (1999, p. 242).

[29] Donohue (1993, p. 36) argues that it must be Callimachean based on the fact that both passages are programmatic.

[30] Waszink (1954, pp. 250–1); see too Bailey (1947, *ad loc.*) and Clay (1983, pp. 43–4).

[31] Lenaghan (1967, p. 224).

So too the Pierides[32] (an alternate name for Muses), and the honey of poetry: the first is a metonym for poetry that appears throughout previous literature; the second a common way of talking about the pleasure poetry brings. There is no need to find a reference to Sappho here; the passage can be understood very well as referring generally to a number of Lucretius' predecessors in a variety of poetic genres. But there may also be particular reference to Sappho, for reasons we shall explore.

A number of Sapphic fragments mention flowers or garlands; I give only one of many relevant examples, Sappho 55, which also mentions the Pierian muses:[33]

> *κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσηι οὐδέ πότα, μναμοσύνα σέθεν*
> *ἔσσετ' οὔδὲ †ποκ†' ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχηις βρόδων*
> *τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κἀν 'Αίδα δόμωι*
> *φοιτάσηις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.*
>
> Sappho fr. 55 Voigt

> Dying, you shall lie there, and there will be no memory of you ever, for you have no claim to the Pierian roses. Rather, dim here, you will be even dimmer in Hades, flitting about among the undistinguished dead.

Perhaps more importantly than any single reference, the later tradition regularly associates Sappho with flowers;[34] see, for instance, Meleager's denotation of Sappho's poems as 'few, but roses all' (*Anth. Pal.* 4.1.6), Nossis' mention of Sappho as the *χαρίτων ἄνθος* (*Anth. Pal.* 7.718 'bloom of the Graces'), and the claim that Sappho took a flower from each of the Muses for her nine flowers (i.e. books) of song (*Anth. Pal.* 7.17).[35]

Although many of the Greek poetic references to garlands of flowers are Pindaric and Bacchylidean,[36] Antipater of Sidon connects Sappho, garlands, and the Pierides, claiming that she created an *ἀείζωον Πιερίδων στέφανον* ('ever-blooming garland of the Pierides', *Anth. Pal.* 7.1.4; Kenney[37] terms this 'the closest parallel' to our Lucretian passage). So too,

[32] Waszink (1954, p. 251) notes the importance of *auia* to understanding this passage: Lucretius claims to be not the very first, but the first on *his* topic. Among the better discussions of this passage is Graca (1989, pp. 67–79).

[33] See too (e.g.) Sappho frr. 2, 81, 92, 94, 96, 122, 125, 168c, which mention garlands and particular flowers of various kinds. For this fragment in a potentially Propertian context, see Heyworth, Chapter 10, p. 202.

[34] Nünlist (1998, p. 208).

[35] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 319–20, 311, 323–4.

[36] Nünlist (1998, pp. 206–23).

[37] Kenney (1970, p. 371).

Anth. Pal. 7.407 joins both Pieria and Helicon to Sappho. Although the Muses are often called Pierides, it is possible that the denotation acquired a Sapphic quality, as this name also occurs in her poetry.[38]

Honey is also a standard poetic trope appearing as early as Homer.[39] Again, there are Sapphic fragments which mention honey: μήτε μοι μέλι μήτε μέλισσα (Sappho fr. 146 Voigt, 'neither honey nor bee for me'; cf. μελίφωνος (Sappho fr. 185 Voigt, 'honey-voiced'),[40] and she is associated with honey in later epigram, where an anonymous poet claims to be getting honey from Sappho;[41] cf. *Anth. Pal.* 2.69 on Sappho and the honey of the Muses and *Anth. Pal.* 9.66, by Antipater of Sidon, on μελιφώνου Σαπφοῦς, 'honey-voiced Sappho'.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this passage is Lucretius' claim to sweeten his philosophy with poetic honey. In order to do this, and to appeal to the largest possible number of readers, he will want to capture the epic grandeur of Homer and Ennius, but also the playful pleasure of Sappho and the lyric poets. It may be difficult for us to imagine that any reader would pick up a copy of the *De rerum natura* purely for the charms of its poetry, but this seems to be precisely what Lucretius envisioned, and indeed, it is how later poets engaged with him. So it is not preposterous to claim that Lucretius wanted to incorporate even genres like lyric poetry into his totalizing poem on the Nature of (Every)things.

Sappho and Lucretius: (Un)common Pleasures

To conclude, I suggest that Lucretius' poetic stance vis à vis Sappho may have been rather similar to Catullus'. As others have shown, Lucretius and Catullus have more in common than has usually been believed, and almost certainly read one another's poetry.[42] It is often claimed that

[38] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 351.

[39] Nünlist (1998, p. 200; see too pp. 300–6).

[40] Philostratus claims this as 'Sappho's sweet epithet' (*Imag.* 2.1).

[41] See *Suppl. Hell.* 1001 = *Mel. Adesp.* 979.

[42] The parallels between Catullus 61–8 and certain books of Lucretius are convincing enough that there can be little debate about borrowing; see, e.g. Munro (1908) *ad* Lucr. 1.11 and 3.57, Bailey (1947) *ad* Lucr. 1.97, Quinn (1973) *ad* Catull. 63.21 and *passim* 64; Herrmann (1956, pp. 465–71); Schrijvers (1970, p. 212, n. 4), and especially Frank (1933, pp. 250–1) for a convenient list of Lucretian parallels to Catullus 64. The interesting

Lucretius' diatribe against love is directed against Catullus in particular or his kind of poetry in general.[43] So too, Lucretius' claim of *studium* may be meant to distance himself from the *otium* of Catullus (Lucr. 1.24).[44] Ferrari believes that Catullus 51 was Lucretius' inspiration for adapting Sapphic imagery to his own purposes.[45] And Hahn (1966) has suggested that Catull. 45 and Lucr. 1.31–7 share a common poetic source.[46] Ferrero discussed as early as 1949 the relationship between Lucretius and Catullus (103–14, with the neoterics more generally at 128–34), but his book was not well received, because it took the evidence somewhat further than was warranted. Presumably his thesis also seemed implausible because it suggested a kind of Lucretius that the scholarly world was not ready for.

But Lucretius wrote for the elite, among whom both poetic sophistication and knowledge of Greek poetry could be presumed. Fowler has noted that the *De rerum natura* 'constantly shocks the reader by appropriating to its own very different purposes the language and imagery of religion and theist philosophy'.[47] Sappho in particular might have seemed a perfect choice for this kind of appropriation, because she was so famous, and so closely associated with Aphrodite (and with a particular kind of *uoluptas*), and yet so patently unsuitable to serious philosophical discussion in much of her poetry.[48] At the same time scholars have long noted the philosophical tone of Sappho's claim that it is *πά]γχυ δ'ἐΰμαρες σύνετον πόησαι | π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ'* (Sappho fr. 16.6–7 Voigt, 'wholly easy to

question for many is who read whom. Supporters of Lucretius reading Catullus include Herrmann (1956, p. 465); on the other side, Munro (1908). T. Frank (1933, pp. 251–2, 255) believes that Catullus 64 was taken from Lucr. 1–4, which were given to Memmius on his trip to Bithynia, but that Catullus 65–8 in turn provided a source for Lucr. 5 and 6. See the more recent discussion of Hutchinson (2001, pp. 156–7), on relative chronology.

[43] See e.g. Betensky (1980, pp. 291, 296).

[44] See Clay (1983, p. 213). The irony of Lucretius' un-Epicurean struggles in and with poetry is notable, and forms part of the discussion of how he justifies his poetico-philosophical pursuit to himself; cf. Lehoux, Morrison, and Sharrock (2013).

[45] W. Ferrari (1937, p. 140).

[46] Most have assumed that the source for both Lucretius' Venus and Mars and Catullus' Septimius and Acme was a visual one; Hahn (1966, pp. 138–9) speculatively posits a Sapphic poem.

[47] Fowler (2000, p. 144).

[48] Indeed, I think it not unlikely that some of Lucretius' diatribes against particular manifestations of human decadence and luxury invoke particular words or phrases in Sappho that are now lost to us.

make this clear to all').[49] From the powerful reframing of Aphrodite as not a personal deity but a manifestation of nature, 'ally' of human beings in only the most metaphorical sense, to the re-use of Sapphic imagery to discuss the corporeality of the soul, to the claim that he can compete with her on her own poetic terms, Sappho provides an extremely fruitful point of departure for Lucretius. In this, he is very little different from other Roman poets: his incorporation of Sappho allows Lucretius to establish his place within the tradition, but also enables him to mark his own distance from it, and from her.[50]

[49] For further thoughts on Sappho's 'philosophical' reception, see Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 58, n. 49 and Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 219, n. 56 on Plutarch, *Mor.* 81d–e, and Max. Tyr. 18.9 respectively; for the respective texts, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 350, 360–2. Furthermore, Zellner (2007) and Greene and Skinner (2009) focus on philosophical issues.

[50] I am grateful to the editors of this volume for the invitation to consider such a rich topic, and to my hosts and audience at the U. Mass. Amherst 2017 symposium on 'The Tenth Muse'.

4

As Important as Callimachus?

An Essay on Sappho in Catullus and Beyond

Thea S. Thorsen

Can Sappho be considered as important as Callimachus in the context of Roman literature?[1] Most scholars would shake their heads at this question, and with good reason: Callimachus' influence is widely attested and acknowledged almost as a kind of *sine qua non* for the poetry of the late Roman Republic and the Augustan age.[2] In the briefest perusal of standard overview volumes of Latin literature, Callimachus comes across as a figure of great importance, whereas Sappho appears much less significant.[3] Similarly, while there is a whole strand of works of scholarship that explores the legacy of Callimachus at Rome,[4] no such line of contributions exists in the case of Sappho.[5] In fact, the present volume is the first dedicated to the issue of Sappho's Roman reception. And even in this volume the contributors take a cautious approach, pointing out the

[1] Hunter, Chapter 2 also approaches this question.

[2] Seminal are Wimmel (1960) and Hunter (2006).

[3] Thus, in three of the most prominent overview volumes of Latin literature, Conte (1994) refers around fifteen times to Callimachus and twice to Sappho, while both von Albrecht (1997) and Harrison (2005) refer around thirty times to Callimachus and about ten to Sappho.

[4] See e.g. Puelma Piwonka (1949), Clausen (1964), Zetzel (1983), Bing (1997), Marinone (1997), and Thomas (1999).

[5] Sappho is well explored in the individual cases of Catullus and Horace, and occasionally Ovid's *Heroides* 15 (for an overview, see Thorsen 2014a, p. 51), but not as a source of inspiration for Roman poetry in general in the same way as Callimachus; see note 2.

apparent absence of Sappho's impact in a number of Roman literary contexts where her presence could well be expected.[6] Finally, in the cases where Sappho's influence *is* considered obvious and conspicuous, these cases are rarely seen as related in a way that could gain for Sappho anything that might faintly resemble the impressive standing of Callimachus.

Nevertheless, a number of features are beginning to surface in certain strains of scholarship on both Greek and Roman poetry that call for further inquiries into the relationship between Sappho and Callimachus and how the two were perceived and received in antiquity, especially at Rome. I will in the following build on certain recent observations, promoted in the present volume and elsewhere, and thus pursue the question of whether Sappho can be considered as important as Callimachus in the context of Roman literature. My point of departure will be the translation of Sappho's fragment 31[7] in Catullus 51,[8] which is probably the most famous example in all of Sappho's Roman reception, even outside the confined circles of specialists.

Catullus 51—A Testimony to Sappho's Poetic Power?

In many and striking ways Catullus' translation[9] of Sappho appears as a prominent example of one of the most fundamental dynamics of literary history, namely that of great poets inspiring those who come after, whether minor or major, and whose poetic endeavours consequently depend on a preceding model.[10] That great poets inspire those who come after is a fact of little controversy. This general outlook on the fundamental dynamics of literary tradition maps well onto the particular case of Sappho and Catullus, as she was indeed considered a great poet in the

[6] See especially the openings of Hunter, Chapter 2, Heyworth, Chapter 10, and Nisbet, Chapter 14.

[7] For the Sappho's fragment quoted in full, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, pp. 68–9.

[8] For Catullus' poem quoted in full, see Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 52.

[9] For profounder reflections on the nature of translation, including the metaliterary, theoretical concepts of *ἀλλότριον* ('the alien' / 'that which is someone else's') and *οἰκεῖον* ('the familiar' / 'that which is one's own') in the case of Sappho fr. 31 and Catullus 51, see Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 53.

[10] On whether the receiving poet harbours welcoming appreciation or an anxiety of influence, cf. Bloom (1973).

ancient tradition, and he indeed followed her as a model in his translation of her poem. Sappho's primacy compared to Catullus is furthermore confirmed by the simple fact that she precedes him in literary history. As a consequence, the supremacy of Sappho over Catullus, who appears second to her, is ascertained by the fact that while it remains perfectly feasible to read Sappho's fragment 31 without taking Catullus' poem 51 into consideration,[11] it is virtually impossible to read his poem without comparing it to hers. That said, the innovative artistry on the part of Catullus in choosing to translate this particular poem of a highly esteemed poetic predecessor, namely Sappho, is equally indisputable, and confirmed by another fact, namely that by doing so he initiated what one might call a coherent tradition that continues to this day of rendering this specific poem of Sappho in ever-new languages.[12] By turning to the great model Sappho as his leader, Catullus, the follower, asserts his own greatness.

Catullus' translation of Sappho's fragment 31 should therefore appear as an unequivocal testimony to the power of her poetry. Notwithstanding Catullus' conspicuous dependence on Sappho in this case, there is nevertheless a tendency to regard him as appropriating her poetic power by assuming the role of a usurper as much as that of an admirer.[13] Hence, Catullus' celebrated translation of Sappho's iconic artistic achievement in her fragment 31 seems an enigma from a scholarly point of view. Catullus' act of appropriative reception appears to need to be accounted for and, not least, gauged against less respectful depictions of female figures that appear throughout his corpus. From a scholarly point of view, Catullus' poem 51 seems entangled in a paradox of gender and poetics: on the one hand, the poem signals Catullus' admiration for a model poet (who is also a woman) and on the other, it represents Catullus' usurpation of a woman (who is also a poet). Catullus' admiration of the model poet (who is also a woman) has arguably received less attention than his usurpation of the woman (who is also a poet) in scholarship.[14]

[11] See e.g. Svenbro (1993, pp. 145–60) and Clark (2008).

[12] See e.g. Balmer (2013) and Fabre-Serris (2016).

[13] See e.g. Braga (1950, pp. 44–79), Wormell (1966), Wills (1967a), O'Higgins (1990), Janan (1994, pp. 66–76), Miller (1994, pp. 101–18), Greene (1999 and 2007), d'Angour (2006), Thévenaz (2009), Morgan (2010, pp. 200–12), and McElduff (2013, pp. 126–32).

[14] See n. 24.

While the distinction between Catullus the admirer and Catullus the usurper of Sappho might seem slight, it might also conceal a question of some importance: is the idea of a woman poet, appearing as an authoritative model on which a male poet voluntarily depends, in itself problematic? And does this question have anything to do with the current assessment of the importance of Callimachus as opposed to that of Sappho in the poetry of Catullus?

Translation: A Common Context for Sappho and Callimachus in Catullus?

Naturally, discussions of both Sappho 31 and Catullus 51 feature in this volume[15] and as such they contribute to the ongoing investigation into the striking similarities and equally striking differences between Sappho's and Catullus' poems,[16] which naturally also per se offer painstaking challenges in terms of interpretation regarding both issues of transmission and unity, as well as content.

Most scholars agree that the poems have at least four features in common: firstly, there is the common metre of the Sapphic stanza; next, both poems refer to the point of view of a poetic I; thirdly, the object of vision of the poetic I is in both poems a man sitting opposite to a girl who is smiling and talking (or making sounds, cf. *audit* Catull. 51.4); and finally, the sight of the heterosexual couple prompts a number physical reactions in the poetic I, which ultimately bring the poetic I supposedly to the verge of death.

Similarly, most scholars would agree that there are at least three conspicuous differences between Sappho's fr. 31 and Catullus' translation of it in his poem 51, of which the first concerns language. Sappho's poem is in Aeolic Greek and Catullus' is in Latin. The second difference concerns the gender of the poetic I; in Sappho she is feminine (cf. lines 14 and 16) and in Catullus the poetic I is not only male, he even goes by the name of 'Catullus' (cf. 51.13). Finally, there is the famous difference between the endings of the two poems, as we know them; in Sappho's case the poem abruptly breaks off after a more general statement about

[15] For Sappho fr. 31, see n. 7, for Catullus poem 51 see esp. Hunter, Chapters 2 and 8, Gram, Chapter 5, and Thévenaz, Chapter 6.

[16] See esp. Wills (1967a, pp. 182–97) and Greene (1999).

endurance, and in most editions of Catullus his poem 51 ends with a stanza that deals with the theme of *otium*.[17]

When shifting the focus from details such as these to the overarching question of the importance of Sappho at Rome as seen in the case of Catullus' poetry, it appears helpful to activate a broader framework for our perspective than is normally taken into consideration when discussing the relationship between Sappho 31 and Catullus 51. This broader framework concerns the fine and distinct tradition of artistic translations in Roman culture, to which Catullus is one of the most eminent contributors,[18] as he famously translated not only one, but two Greek poets: Sappho and Callimachus.[19]

In addition to translating Sappho's fr. 31 into the Latin of his poem 51, Catullus translated Callimachus' fr. 110 of the *Aetia*, also known as the 'Lock of Berenice', into the Latin of his poem 66. Relatively little of Callimachus' *Lock* remains, but the extant text shows nevertheless how imaginatively Catullus translates the Greek poem into Latin,[20] and how both Callimachus' and Catullus' poems clearly recount the lament of the lock of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice as it is cut from her hair and dedicated to vouchsafe the return of the king from the battlefield, and its subsequent experience of being catasterized as a heavenly constellation.

The uniqueness of Catullus as translator in the cultural history of Rome can hardly be overstated; we do not know of any other Roman poet who ventured upon the undertaking of receptively appropriating two different, Greek poet models by means of artistic translations that are so close to the original that even the Greek metres of the different poems are *mutatis mutandis* reproduced in the Latin: the Sapphic stanza in the case of Sappho and elegiac couplets in the case of Callimachus. Considering this singular communality between Sappho and Callimachus in that

[17] This stanza may however be displaced from some other poem. Major points regarding these complexes are often recapitulated in works of scholarship dealing with the *otium*-stanza of Catullus 51, such as Fredricksmeyer (1983), Frank (1968), Itzkowitz (1983), Finamore (1984), Segal (1989), Vine (1992), Harrison (2001), d'Angour (2006), and Hunter, Chapter 2, pp. 54–5 and Chapter 8, pp. 160–1.

[18] Cf. McElduff (2013).

[19] See Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 51. Catullus might have translated other Greek model(s) in his poem 63, cf. e.g. Shipton (1987) and Harrison (2004).

[20] See Harder (2012, vol. 2, pp. 793–855), Bing (1997), and Marinone (1997). Strikingly, both Catullus poem 51 and 66 thus sport multifarious aspects that relate to female voices, as pointed out e.g. by Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 51.

both are poets of poems that are prominent models for translations by Catullus, it appears curious and striking that there are still few works of scholarship that compares Catullus' Sappho-translation with his Callimachus-translation as two sides of the same phenomenon, namely Catullus' translational technique, and, by extension, Catullus' translational technique as emblematic of his poetic project. On the contrary, scholarly discussions tend to keep the significance of Sappho and Callimachus in the case of Catullus strictly apart.[21]

A Companion to Catullus (2007), an important benchmark in recent Catullan scholarship is particularly telling regarding this point. Here, the editor Marilyn B. Skinner duly points out that '[Catullus] recognizes Sappho and Callimachus as his primary poetic models'.[22] Simultaneously, Skinner justifies the fact that the subheading of Part III, 'Influences', includes only two chapters on precisely these poets' influence on Catullus. The chapters, which are by Ellen Greene and Peter E. Knox respectively, provide insightful analyses of the Greek poets' significance within the Catullan corpus.[23] Yet not once is Sappho's significance considered in relationship with Callimachus in these chapters. What is more, throughout Knox's chapter, Callimachus is represented as a master model for the craft and calling of Catullus' refined poetry, while the artistic mastery of Sappho is much less prominent in Greene's chapter, which almost exclusively focuses on the theme of love and the dynamics of gender.[24]

Yet Catullus' prominent juxtaposition of Sappho and Callimachus within his corpus arguably urges us to regard them in tandem. The fact that Catullus translates the compositions of precisely these Greek poets prompts one simple question, which is often lost in the

[21] Thus even Wormell's (1966, p. 195) article 'Catullus as Translator', treats Catullus 51 and 66 separately: 'Catullus 66 has almost nothing in common with 51'; as does e.g. McElduff's (2013, pp. 126–32) chapter on both poems, plus the poems 50 and 65. While keeping the discussions of Callimachus and Sappho apart, there are some general reflections on the translational technique of Catullus that may apply to both models in Young (2015).

[22] Skinner (2007b, p. 5).

[23] Greene (2007, pp. 131–50) and Knox (2007, pp. 151–72).

[24] The subheadings of Greene's and Knox's chapters are particularly indicative of the different approaches to the two Greek poets and underpin the same image of Sappho compared to that of Callimachus in the case of Catullus as the one consolidated by Braga (1950), who claims that while Callimachus provided a model for Catullan poetics, Sappho provided a model for Catullan love. Cf. Braga (1950, pp. 44–79).

scholarly discussion of minute details concerning issues of similarities and differences, unity, and coherence, but which is nevertheless of great importance to a volume such as this: why does Catullus choose to translate so conspicuously precisely Sappho and Callimachus in his poems?

Taking Catullus' translation of Callimachus into account when assessing the significance of his translation of Sappho surely appears hazardous: from the perspective of Callimachus' towering figure in scholarship in Roman poetry, any comparison with Callimachus' influence on this poetry naturally risks dwarfing that of Sappho, which is, as pointed out above, not as well established. Nevertheless I will argue that the seeming disadvantage of bringing Callimachus into the discussion of Sappho's significance at Rome might also hold some potential advantages.

Problematic Admiration?

The unease about accepting Sappho as an exclusively authoritative master model in the case of Catullus 51 is not ungrounded, as is demonstrated throughout the volume.[25] The ambiguous status of Sappho in the case of Catullus 51 is particularly closely related to two features of poetic technique and poetic content respectively, namely metre and the figure of Lesbia.

Sappho is famously associated with a specific metre already in the ancient tradition, so much so that this metrical form is identified by her name.[26] The Sapphic stanza is itself one of the most conspicuous pieces of evidence of her importance and influence. Sappho famously shares her metre with its alleged inventor Alcaeus,[27] and while the metrical practice of Horace seems to strengthen the association between this metre and Alcaeus, Catullus seems more clearly to associate the Sapphic stanza with Sappho. The Catullan association between the metre and Sappho herself might be related to the notion that this was the metrical form of the first of a total of nine books, into which Alexandrian scholars divided her output.[28] Thus, Sappho's fragment 31 can safely be placed in the first book of her Alexandrian edition, as this fragment is precisely in Sapphic stanzas.

[25] See especially Gram, Chapter 5.
[26] See also Thorsen, Introduction, p. 22.
[27] Marius Victorinus, *Gramm. Lat.* VI.161 Keil.
[28] See Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 14–15.

As already touched upon, Catullus' appropriations of Sappho 31 in his poem 51—like his appropriation of Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 110, the 'Lock of Berenice', in his poem 66—translate even the metrical. Before Catullus, we only know the artistic translations of Homer, that is, of the Homeric content in the case of Livius Andronicus and the Homeric form in the *Annales* of Ennius:[29] Livius Andronicus' *Oduseia* is famously in a non-Greek metre, that is the enigmatic Saturnian, while Ennius 'translates' the epic hexameter into Latin verse in his accounts of Roman history. Against this background it is quite significant that Catullus follows the lead of Ennius by reproducing the metrical form of his Greek models, at the same time as he demonstrates his versatility by elegantly reproducing *two* different metrical forms at that.[30]

While scholarly analyses of the significance of the elegiac metre in the case of Catullus 66 and this poem's relationship to other poems in elegiac couplets in the Catullan poetry are lacking, Catullus' employment of the Sapphic stanza has been firmly placed in a Sapphic context and linked to Catullus' further employment of the same metre in his poetry. This is surely due to the fact that Catullus 51 is one of only two Catullan poems in the Sapphic stanza. Famously, the partly invective poem 11, which closes with the poetic persona of Catullus' bitter leave-taking of the sexually insatiable and unfaithful figure of his beloved, is also cast in the same metrical form as his poem 51.

The fact that these two poems, Catullus 11 and Catullus 51, are the only poems in Sapphic stanzas in all of the extant Catullan output has naturally made it pressing to relate these poems to the legacy of Sappho. At first glance the two poems seem very hard to reconcile with each other within an overarching generic programme that can be associated with a specific Greek poet, though Olivier Thévenaz in this volume, among others, sets out more profound interpretations of Catullus 11, which contains a significant verbatim allusion to the poetry of Sappho.[31]

The most problematic aspect of Catullus 11 in terms of Sapphic influence is the poetic figure of Lesbia. In Chapter 5 of this volume

[29] For earlier examples of poetic translations at Rome, Livius Andronicus and Ennius, see McElduff (2013, pp. 39–60).

[30] For glimpses into the 'metrical laboratory' of Catullus, see Morgan (2010, *passim*), cf. also Thorsen (2013c, pp. 372–3).

[31] See Thévenaz, Chapter 6, as well as p. 87.

Gram discusses an extensive cluster of significances that the name 'Lesbia' evokes. The geographical reference to Lesbos remains one of the most conspicuous of these significances. Adjectives denoting geographical origin were typically used as names for slaves in ancient Rome.[32] Yet as the adjective *Lesbia* means 'she who is from Lesbos', it immediately prompts the question: which female is most famously from Lesbos? Within the context of literary history the name inevitably evokes Sappho of Lesbos, whom Ovid even terms *Lesbia . . . Sappho* (*Tr.* 2.365), thus driving the point home.[33] The convention of slave-names is however not completely irrelevant, as the adjective would evoke more broadly someone of Greek origin 'imported' to Rome. Thus, even this significance might retain a literary meaning as the Greek origin of Lesbia is relevant to the importance of translation within the Catullan corpus and embodies a transposition from a Greek environment to a new, Roman setting, much like that of Sappho's fragment 31 in the translation of Catullus' poem 51.

Notwithstanding the multiple literary significances of the name of Lesbia, the appearance of this figure contributes to the undercutting of Sappho as an authorial model on a par with Callimachus for Catullus. Lesbia is the object not only of tender love (cf. e.g. Catull. 5 and Catull. 7), at times similar to the love for a life-long companion (Catull. 68.68–74), but also of abusive hate (e.g. Catull. 8).[34]

Notably, Lesbia is not the only figure in Catullan poetry exposed to the strongly shifting emotions of the poetic I of the Catullan poetry book, a fact to which I will return shortly, although she is indeed the figure that appears most frequently as the object of such emotional outbursts whether these are replete with affectionate reverence or with the vilest of denigrations, in his poetry.

Gender-Inclusive Metapoetics?

On a metapoetic level, the figure of Lesbia is also frequently identified as a metaphor for poetry and, more implicitly, a metaphor for Sappho's poetry. Thus, Knox identifies poetry with the figure of Catullus' Lesbia

[32] See Gram, Chapter 5, p. 104.
[33] See Ingleheart, Chapter 11, p. 219.
[34] For further interpretations of Catullus 8, see Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 129–31.

while discussing the metapoetics of Callimachus in this celebrated epigram:

> Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
> χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει,
> μισῶ καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
> πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
> Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναιχὶ καλὸς καλός—ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
> τοῦτο σαφῶς Ἠχώ, φησί τις 'ἄλλος ἔχει'.
>
> Callimachus *Epigr.* 28 (Pf.) = *Anth. Pal.* 12.42 and *Epigr.* 30 (Mair and Mair).

I hate the cyclic poem, nor do I take pleasure in the road, which carries many to and fro. I hate, too, the roaming lover, and I drink not from every well; I loathe all common things. Lysanias, you are truly beautiful, beautiful: but before Echo has spoken clearly, someone says, 'another has [him]'.[35]

Knox rightly stresses the way in which poetic and erotic concerns are intertwined in the poem, and continues:

> The Cyclic poems that [Callimachus] does not like and the imagery of the crowded road echo themes raised in the *Aetia* prologue, but they are adapted here to the amatory purposes of the epigram. For his association of his personal affairs and Lesbia with literary values, Catullus found an influential precedent in Callimachus.[36]

Surely it is reasonable to link Callimachus' eroto-poetic epigram to Lesbia as a figure for poetry, since she is the most recurrent figure of that kind in the poetry of Catullus. Yet, the fact that the Callimachean poem in question centres on an ἐρώμενος, a beloved boy, makes it also relevant to consider the role and metapoetic potential of Juventius, the most prominent lover-boy in Catullan verse, precisely in the light of this epigram by Callimachus.[37]

In his poem Callimachus claims to hate the beloved boy who is wandering about—to other lovers, one may presume. And what does Juventius do throughout the poetry book of Catullus? He seems precisely to pass from lover to lover, including Catullus himself. In the six poems that are traditionally considered to be about Juventius (the boy in these

[35] The translation is that of Mair and Mair (1921, p. 147).

[36] Knox (2007, p. 154).

[37] So Dyson (2007, p. 268): 'The polymetric *puella*—exclusively as sex object or subject—really had little to distinguish her from the polymetric *puer*, Juventius.'

poems is not always mentioned by name), he is the lover of Catullus (Catull. 48 and 99), Aurelius (Catull. 15 and 21), Furius (Catull. 24), and a man from Pisaurum (Catull. 81). Juventius thus has the function of the Callimachean ἐρώμενος of his epigram 28 (Pf.), he is the object of desire as well as deprecation, and he is unfaithful. Juventius seems the very embodiment of Callimachus' roaming beloved boy.

Might Juventius also be perceived as a metaphor for poetry, analogous with the how the Callimachean ἐρώμενος and Lesbia are understood as such? The question is important because it helps underscore how differently Sappho and Callimachus are perceived as Catullus' models, despite the many potential similarities between the Greek poets as such.

In the case of Sappho, the metapoetic link between Lesbia and poetry arguably establishes an undercurrent narrative in Catullan scholarship, in which Catullus is seen as embracing the female Sappho, that is her poetry, with an admiration that borders on possession in his poem 51,[38] only to reject Sappho, that is, her poetry, in Catullus 11. The poems complicate the roles of the genders involved with sublime sophistication, since Catullus assumes the role of Sappho by imitating her in poem 51, and he compares himself—through an allusion to Sappho fr. 105b (Voigt = 105c LP)[39]—with a flower cut by the plough, a masculine symbol, metaphorically applied to his girl, in his poem 11.[40] Yet scholarly narratives seem simultaneously to be suggestively concordant with heterosexual gender stereotypes, where Catullus—the man—appears as using, abusing, and reducing his literary predecessor, the woman Sappho, who in his poetic project remains an object—eventually an abject object—of the initial poetic desire.

By contrast such narratives are virtually non-existent in Catullan scholarship that focuses on Callimachus. Yet considering the influence of Callimachus both on Catullus' poetics and erotics in tandem with the role of Juventius in his poetry, Callimachus could easily have replaced Sappho in the narrative just outlined above: Catullan poetry testifies to the desire for male as well as female objects, and from this point of view,

[38] So, recently McElduff (2013, p. 131): 'Catullus approaches the Greek text closely, hints at being consumed by it, as he is by Lesbia, but then retreats, choosing finally to perform Sappho's text as *Catullus*.'

[39] See Thévenaz, Chapter 6, p. 122.

[40] See e.g. Gaisser (2009, p. 99).

Callimachus, just as readily as Sappho, might be understood as an object of Catullus' eroto-poetic desire, possession, and rejection.[41]

Love and Gender versus Poetics and Aesthetic Ideals

One of the reasons why such narratives about Callimachus have yet to be established is that in Catullan scholarship, Sappho is traditionally seen as the great model for concepts of love and gender, while Callimachus is seen as a model for poetics and aesthetic ideals. Recent scholarship, most notably promoted by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes,[42] demonstrates that Sappho and Callimachus share a number of features concerning poetics that work against clear-cut distinctions between the two poets as models for Catullus. In fact, Sapphic vocabulary and the refined and self-conscious aesthetics frequently termed 'Callimacheanism', or 'Callimachean poetics' in current scholarship are much more compatible than has been previously established. Thus Acosta-Hughes stresses '[Sappho's] importance in Alexandrian poetics'[43] and:

> While many of the poetic terms that Sappho uses—λιγύς ('clear') and the related forms, χαρίεις ('graceful') and λεπτός ('fine')—come to have enhanced compositional definition for the Alexandrians and find parallels elsewhere in Archaic poetry, their frequency in her extant verse allows us to think of her poetry as aesthetically in sympathy with that of her Alexandrian emulators and to imagine the scale of her influence upon them.[44]

As a consequence of such observations, it appears urgent to take not only Callimachus, but also Sappho into consideration when points of aesthetics and poetics are discussed in the corpus of Catullus, as well as other Roman poets, as is also suggested by Hunter in his chapters in this volume.[45]

Furthermore, not only Sappho, but also Callimachus is strongly associated with the theme of love and offer paradigms of hetero- and homoerotic

[41] And so Ronnie Ancona and Judith Hallett (2007, p. 497): 'Might a . . . study of Catullus as "the Juventius poet" enrich [our] appreciation of his Lesbia-poems?'

[42] Anticipated by Rissman (1983, pp. 48–54), who suggestively launches the concept of '"Alexandrian" Sappho' in her important study on the Homericity of Sapphic poetry.

[43] See also Hunter, Chapter 2, *passim*.

[44] Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (2010, p. 13), with references to Sappho's poetry for the Greek words mentioned.

[45] See Hunter Chapter 2 and Chapter 8.

sensibilities that are particularly resonant with Catullus and other Roman poets, including, as demonstrated by Harrison in this volume, Vergil.[46] Sappho is mostly known for her homoerotic poetry, but even some of the most celebrated specimens of this poetry include heterosexual relationships, most notably that of Helen and Paris in Sappho fr. 16 and that of the man and the girl in Sappho fr. 31. Heterosexual relationships would naturally have been even more extensively present in her wedding songs, the *Epithalamia*.[47]

Similarly, Callimachus is also eminently known as a homoerotic poet,[48] and even more famous for his account of the heterosexual pair of Acontius and Cydippe in his *Aetia* (frr. 67–75 Harder), a couple of immense importance in the history of Roman love poetry.[49] Importantly, the allusions, explicit[50] and implicit,[51] to Callimachus in poem 65 that precede the translation of Callimachus' 'Lock of Berenice' in his poem 66, suggestively recall the Acontius and Cydippe episode, which thus imbues the subsequent translation-poem with erotic qualities. Consequently, both the poetry of Sappho and Callimachus amply feature homo- and heteroerotic relationships, as does the poetry of Catullus.

These concomitant features in Sappho and Callimachus concerning poetics and the theme of love suggest that they are compatible rather than distinct as models for Catullus. One reason why this is a more appropriate understanding of Catullus' choice of translating Sappho and Callimachus is further provided by recent scholarship, again promoted by Acosta-Hughes, who compellingly demonstrates Sappho's influence on Callimachus, most notably exemplified by certain Sapphic allusions in his 'Lock of Berenice', which is precisely the Callimachean poem Catullus chose to translate.[52]

The Sapphic allusions in Callimachus' poetry are naturally of great importance when considering the significance of the two poets in Roman

[46] As Harrison demonstrates in Chapter 7, pp. 138–44.

[47] Cf. Thévenaz, Chapter 6 and Harrison, Chapter 7.

[48] See e.g. Nisetich (2001, p. xlv, n. 85).

[49] See e.g. Cairns (1969), Kenney (1983), Rosen and Farrell (1986), Hunter (1993), Barchiesi (1993), Rosenmeyer (1996), Hardie (2002, pp. 110–28), and Acosta-Hughes (2009).

[50] Cf. *carmina Battiadae* (Catull. 65.16, 'Songs of Callimachus').

[51] Cf. Catull. 65.19–21, recalling the story of Acontius and Cydippe through the imagery of an apple, cf. Barchiesi (1993, pp. 363–5), and Hunter (1993) and Chapter 8, p. 160.

[52] Acosta-Hughes (2010, pp. 63–82).

literature. The possibility that Sappho's poetry has influenced that of Callimachus means not only that Sappho should be conceived of as on a par with Callimachus in terms of refined poetics and the theme of love, but also that she could even be regarded as more primordial than Callimachus in terms of the chronology of literary history. This perspective asserts the primacy of Sappho not only over Catullus, but also over Callimachus. Thus, by translating Sappho and Callimachus, Catullus seems to underscore their joint programmatic value in relation to his own poetic project at the same time as he suggestively presents a line of succession, a canon, in which Sappho is joined by Callimachus and, subsequently, by Catullus.

Importantly, Hunter, elsewhere as well as in this volume, questions whether Roman poets perceived Sappho in accordance with the actual chronology of literary history as an archaic poet.[53] In line with Hunter, I would contend that rather than presupposing some relationship between actual historical periods and this suggestive line of succession, Catullus seems to single out poets with whom he finds himself related and places them in a privileged club where the ancient dynamics of ζῆλος ('zeal'/'eagerness'/'rivalry')[54] provide the principle for the selection and certain ideas of style and taste provide the intrinsic affinity.

Sappho at Rome; Sappho at Home?

Sappho and Callimachus clearly form a privileged pair as poet-models in Catullus, though rarely explored as such.[55] Catullus' joint appropriation of Sappho and Callimachus helps him transgress boundaries of language, gender, genre, poetics, and aesthetics and thus assert his own poetic project. In terms of Roman literary history, the Catullan couple of Sappho and Callimachus make an interesting background for a pattern of allegiances to Greek model poets in a number of other, very central Roman poets, notably Horace, Propertius, Ovid, and Martial.

Most conspicuously relevant to this background of Catullus' privileged pair of Sappho and Callimachus is the Horatian pair of Sappho and

[53] Hunter (2006, p. 142), Chapter 2 and Chapter 8.

[54] Hunter, Chapter 8, p. 156.

[55] See general overview works on the Catullan corpus, such as Quinn (1970), Holzberg (2002), Hurley (2004), Godwin (2008), and Gaisser (2009).

Alcaeus. On a lexical level, Horace might relate—by means of variation—to Catullus' Lesbian poet model by repeatedly applying the term 'Aeolian' to Sappho and the poetry associated with her,[56] which thus renders her Horatian as opposed to Catullan, since this term is conspicuously absent from Catullus' poetry.

In Chapter 8, Richard Hunter further recovers Sappho's share in the Aeolian legacy that Horace so vitally claims for himself.[57] Horace's dependence on Sappho[58] continues to be exposed, not least as shown by the recent, sensational recoveries of her poetic remains published in 2004[59] and 2014[60] respectively.[61] Vincenzo Di Benedetto has compellingly suggested that there is a parallel between this formerly unknown fragment and the famous scene in the Underworld in Horace's *Ode* 2.13, where Sappho and Alcaeus famously appear together. Moreover, Di Benedetto maps the important connection between the 'Posthumous Honour for Sappho' fragment, Sappho fr. 150, and the closing poem of Horace's second book of *Odes* at 2.20.[62] These findings strongly suggest that there might be more of Sappho in Horace than the present state of her fragmentary poetry permits us to assess. At the same time, the number of possible echoes of Sappho in Horace that have already been pointed out as such appears indeed sufficient to argue that Horace seems to rival Catullus' appropriation of Sappho by pairing her with a different male poet in Alcaeus, with whom Horace identifies overtly in his *Odes*.[63]

Catullus' pair of Sappho and Callimachus as privileged model poets might be regarded as a background for other Roman poets in addition to Horace, too. One might even see the least obvious of these poets, Propertius, and his singular claim to being Callimachus, against this background, inasmuch as it might be argued that Propertius relates by variation to the pairing of the Greek poet Sappho with a Greek male poet in Catullus and Horace, by assuming the identity of the one who has been left behind by Horace, namely Callimachus. Propertius would thus

[56] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.13 *aeoliis fidibus* ('Aeolian lyres') about Sappho's instrument, *Carm.* 3.30.23 *aeolium carmen* ('Aeolian song'), about Lesbian poetry in general, similarly *Carm.* 4.3.12 *aeolio carmine*, and *Carm.* 4.9.12 *aeolia puella* ('Aeolian girl') about Sappho proper.

[57] Cf. Thorsen, Chapter 9.

[58] Seminal here is Woodman (2002).

[59] Gronewald and Daniel (2004a).

[60] Obbink (2014, p. 76).

[61] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 9.

[62] Di Benedetto (2005) and Harrison (2017 *ad loc.*).

[63] See e.g. Thorsen, Chapter 9.

allude by means of variation to Catullus' privileged pair of Sappho and Callimachus by referring covertly to Sappho through Cynthia,[64] while alluding overtly to Callimachus by claiming outright, as no other Roman poet does, to *be* the Roman Callimachus (Prop. 4.1.64).

To push the possibility of seeing a pattern where Sappho appears as the constant factor and other Greek, male poets appear relative to her even further, one might add Ovid. As I have argued elsewhere,[65] a particular tag involving the idea of world-wide and enduring fame features (with certain variations) as many as nine times in Ovid's works throughout his entire career.[66] All of these instances promote Ovid himself as a poet of enduring ambition, with two significant exceptions: Sappho[67] and Callimachus.[68] The pattern of pairing Sappho with another Greek poet is thus distinguishable even in Ovid, who acknowledges particularly acutely the importance of these two poets by casting them in lines that recall his own tags, while at the same time he tips the balance in favour of Sappho, by drawing an oblique portrait of himself as Sappho in *Heroides* 15.

In fact, even Martial can be seen as contributing to this pattern of Roman poets pledging particular allegiances to Greek poet models, as Nisbet argues in Chapter 14: though Martial namedrops both Sappho and Callimachus only twice (and Alcaeus never) in his extensive output, Nisbet shows how Sapphic allusions contribute extensively to the profounder poetic project of Martial in his seventh book.

From this overarching perspective on Roman literature, Sappho appears as the more constant, and arguably the more important, model, while Callimachus and Alcaeus are defined relatively to Sappho in the appropriation of Greek poet models by their major Roman equivalents. Furthermore, from this perspective not only does Sappho appears greatly influential at Rome, but the Roman poets who received her at Rome appear more as progressive and untouchably dedicated to the primacy of art, and less as promoters of ideological concerns of gender stereotypes. From this

[64] See Heyworth, Chapter 10. [65] Thorsen (2014a).

[66] Cf. preceding note and *Her.* 15.28; *Am.* 1.15.8; *Am.* 1.15.13; *Ars* 2.740; *Rem. am.* 363; *Met.* 15.876–8; *Fast.* 5.377; *Tr.* 2.118; *Tr.* 4.10.128.

[67] 'My name is already sung abroad in all the earth', *Her.* 15.28, *iam canitur toto nomen in orbe meum.*

[68] 'The son of Battus [= Callimachus] shall be sung through all the earth', *Am.* 1.15.13, *Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe.*

perspective, one answer to the question of whether the idea of a woman poet, appearing as an authoritative model on which male poets voluntarily depend, is problematic, is readily 'no'. In fact, from this perspective, these Roman poets contribute to a creative continuum that was initiated or presented as being initiated in Sappho's own life-time and whose nature and significance is still to be fully explored: as pointed out previously in this volume, ancient testimonies present the poets Archilochus, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Hipponax as contending for Sappho—however implausibly or anachronistically in most of these cases.[69] In Rome, this productive tradition can be seen as extending (at least) as far as to Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, and Martial.

[69] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 37.

5

Odi et amo

On Lesbia's Name in Catullus

Lars Morten Gram

Why did Catullus call Lesbia 'Lesbia'? The most common view is that the name is a reference to Sappho. However, there are at least three alternative views that challenge this one. Two out of these four explanations, including the reference to Sappho, have positive connotations, whereas the remaining two have negative ones. Scholars seem to have been compelled to choose between the positive and the negative connotations of the name, but in the following, it will be argued that all four views may be regarded as equally relevant, and that the name of Lesbia thus has both positive and negative connotations at the same time. As such, the associations generated by Lesbia's name relate to the programmatic *odi et amo* of poem 85. The Lesbia poems famously express a love-hate relationship, and the way in which Catullus has managed to express this eroto-poetic programme in Lesbia's very name is arguably no small artistic feat. At the end of the chapter I shall point to a poem which shows that the idea can even be reconciled with a real-life interpretation of the poems.

Sappho

As already stated, the first and most common observation regarding Lesbia's name is that it is a reference to Sappho, on the grounds that she was in antiquity the most famous woman from the island of Lesbos.[1]

[1] See Miller (1994, p. 102) and most recently Greene (2007, p. 132). Similar references to Sappho through the island can be found in Ovid *Tr.* 2.365 and *Am.* 2.18.34. See Ingleheart, Chapter 11, pp. 219–20.

The cornerstone of any Sapphic understanding of Catullus' 'Lesbia' must remain poem 51, which is an adaptation of Sappho fragment 31 with the name 'Lesbia' occurring in stanza two:

> dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
> eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te
> Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi
> [uocis in ore.][2]
>
> Catull. 51.5–8

. . . you sweetly laughing. Such a thing takes away all my senses! For whenever I see you, Lesbia, at once no sound of voice remains within my mouth.

The stanza captures one of the most conspicuous differences between the original and the translation,[3] namely the fact that there is no name in the corresponding stanza by Sappho:

> καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν
> καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·
> ὠς γὰρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω βρόχε' ὠς με φώνη-
> σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει,
>
> Sappho fr. 31.5–8 Voigt

. . . your sweet voice and lovely laughter. Truly that sets my heart trembling in my breast. For when I look at you for a moment, then it is no longer possible for me to speak . . .

Consequently, particular focus is given to the name in Catullus, and the Sapphic context facilitates identification between 'Lesbia' and 'Sappho'. On this reading, moreover, what is the subject of feeling in the Sapphic original becomes the object in Catullus, a neat inversion which should lend further support to this hypothesis.[4] As is well known, Catullus also uses the Sapphic stanza in poem 11, which should testify further to his admiration (however ambiguous) of her as poet and thus further support a Sapphic understanding of the name 'Lesbia'.[5]

[2] With Ritter and Döring's supplement for the lacuna after Catull. 51.7.

[3] For Catullus 51 as a study of the process of translation and imitation cf. e.g. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, pp. 472–4), cf. Hunter, Chapter 2, pp. 51–4.

[4] Greene (2007, pp. 136–41) demonstrates further complexities. At the same time as Lesbia is made the object, Catullus does adopt Sappho's voice, which serves to feminize him. As object the 'Lesbia' of the poem may on another level be Sappho the poetess, whose work Catullus admires. See also Miller (1993, pp. 190–1) and Miller (1994, p. 103).

[5] For the ambiguities of Catull. 11 as a testimony of his admiration for Sappho, see Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 122–3.

While the link between the name 'Lesbia' and Sappho appears uncontested, it remains to decide the precise nature of its significance. Suggestions include biographical speculations such as that the name is a complimentary reference to the historical Clodia's alleged hobby of composing poetry herself,[6] or even that the name arose from the fact that it was during a conversation about Sappho that Catullus won his girl over.[7] Some argue that Catullus wanted to indicate a parallel to Sappho's emotional intensity, whereas some pair the 'Lesbia' in poem 51 with the girl Sappho addresses in her poem and suggest an intended parallel to this girl's assumed beauty. Already in Godo Lieberg,[8] however, we find the hypothesis that the reference is to Sappho in the role of a Muse, so that the name expresses the idea of Lesbia as the source of Catullus' poetic inspiration.

The understanding of Lesbia as a Muse appears particularly relevant as an interpretation of a reference to Sappho. As pointed out by Lieberg, support for the hypothesis comes from a variety of sources which show how Sappho in antiquity often was compared to, or even equated with, the Muses.[9] Firstly, there is an epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, famously attributed to Plato, which celebrates Sappho as 'the tenth Muse':[10]

> ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες· ὡς ὀλιγώρως·
> ἠνίδε καὶ Σαπφὼ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.
>
> *Anth. Pal.* 9.506

Some say the Muses are nine, but how carelessly! Look at the tenth, Sappho from Lesbos.

Then there is an epigram attributed to Antipater of Sidon, which speaks of Sappho as 'the mortal Muse':[11]

[6] For the historical figure of Clodia, see Dyson (2008).

[7] For overviews of further suggestions see Weston (1920) and Wirshbo (1980).

[8] Lieberg (1962, p. 94).

[9] Possibly inspired by the poetry of Sappho herself, as Sappho's own verse suggests her close relationship with the Muses, see Ingleheart, Chapter 11, 214, n. 31.

[10] Other uses of the designation of Sappho as the tenth Muse include *Anth. Pal.* 9.66 and 571, see Hallett (1993, p. 350, n. 23) and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 316, 402 for the texts. Notably, the title was not exclusively reserved for Sappho, as Callimachus seems to have given it to queen Arsinoë, see Cameron (1995, pp. 141–2) and Nisetich (2001, pp. 64 and 94).

[11] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 315–16.

Σαπφώ τοι κεύθεις, χθὼν Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσαις
ἀθανάταις θνατὰν Μοῦσαν ἀειδομέναν,
. . . ὦ τριέλικτον
Μοῖραι δινεῦσαι νῆμα κατ᾽ ἠλακάτας,
πῶς οὐκ ἐκλώσασθε πανάφθιτον ἦμαρ ἀοιδῷ
ἄφθιτα μησαμένᾳ δῶρ᾽ Ἑλικωνιάδων;

Anth. Pal. 7.14

O Aeolian land, you cover Sappho, who with the immortal Muses is celebrated as the mortal Muse; whom Cypris and Eros together reared . . . O you Fates twirling the triple thread on the spindle, why did you not spin an everlasting life for the singer who devised the deathless gift of the Muses of Helicon?

Finally, there is an epigram attributed to Dioscorides:[12]

ἥδίστον φιλέουσι νέοις προσανάκλιμ᾽ ἐρώτων,
Σάπφω, σὺν Μούσαις ἦ ῥά σε Πιερίη
ἢ Ἑλικὼν εὔκισσος, ἴσα πνείουσαν ἐκείναις
κοσμεῖ, τὴν Ἐρέσῳ Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι,
. . .

Anth. Pal. 7.407.1–4

Sappho, you, who do most sweetly pillow the loves of young men, you verily Pieria or ivied Helicon honour together with the Muses; for your breath is like to theirs, you Muse of Aeolian Eresus . . .

Lieberg aptly observes how 'for your breath is like to theirs' in line 3 here compares with Hesiod's description of the Muses at:

καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα
. . .

Hes. *Theog.* 30–2

and they plucked a staff, the branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before . . .

I would furthermore adduce Propertius' description of Cynthia in his second book, which arguably comes closer to Catullus' Lesbia:[13]

[12] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 347–8.

[13] For interpretations of this passage in its Propertian context, see Heyworth, Chapter 10, *passim*.

quantum quod posito formose saltat Iaccho
egit ut euchantis dux Ariadna choros,
et quantum, Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro,
par Aganippaeae ludere docta lyrae
et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
carminaque Erinnae non putat aequa suis.

Prop. 2.3.13–20

as much as the fact that, after the wine is put out, she dances as beautifully as ever Ariadne leading her frolicking maenads, and when she attempts songs on the Aeolian lyre, gifted to compose something fit for Aganippe's harp, and when she pits her writings against those of ancient Corinna and deems Erinna's poems no match for her own.

The main point of the passage seems to be that Cynthia is presented as Propertius' Muse through being a *docta puella* whose poetic abilities are assimilated to the activities of the Muses.[14] In the Catullan context, however, the importance lies in the pairing of *Aeolio plectro* with *Aganippeae lyrae*. The first must be a reference to Sappho based on the fact that she composed in the Aeolic dialect,[15] whereas the second is the instrument of the Muses as they dance and sing around the spring Aganippe on Mount Helicon. By thus creating a parallel between Sappho and the Muses, the passage seems to express the idea of Sappho as a Muse, and it appears particularly significant that this takes place in a poet as relatively close in time and genre to Catullus as Propertius.

Within the context of Catullus' own poetry, Catull. 35 is of further relevance to a Sappho-as-Muse understanding of the name of 'Lesbia'. In this poem, Catullus famously describes a girl who has been in love with his friend Caecilius since she started to read his *epyllion* on Cybele:

nam quo tempore legit incohatam
Dindymi dominam, ex eo misellae
ignes interiorem edunt medullam.
ignosco tibi, Sapphica puella
Musa doctior: est enim uenuste
Magna Caecilio incohata Mater.

Catull. 35.13–18

[14] For Cynthia as a Muse, see Lieberg (1963, p. 122) and Heyworth, Chapter 10.

[15] In fact, there seems also to have been a tradition that it was Sappho who invented the *plectrum*, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 397–8.

> For since you read the beginning of his 'Lady of Dindymus', ever since then, poor girl, the fires have been wasting her inmost marrow. I feel for you, maiden more scholarly than the Sapphic Muse; for Caecilius has indeed made a lovely beginning to his 'Magna Mater'.

The point of interest is naturally the *Sapphica Musa* in lines 16–17, which it seems possible to interpret as referring to Sappho as a Muse. Niklas Holzberg has argued that the poem is irrelevant in the present context because it refers to Caecilius' girl and not Lesbia, but the point is not as much the specific application in this case as the question of whether or not Catullus could in general associate Sappho with the role of a Muse.[16] More serious, then, is the challenge posed by Stephen Heyworth, who points to the problem of equating *Sapphica Musa* with *Sappho Musa* and suggests that the reference is instead to the historical Sappho's Muse, that is the *puella docta* who inspired and read Sappho's own poetry.[17] However, one should note his qualification that there would be no extant parallel for this reading. More importantly, even acceptance of Heyworth's hypothesis could be reconciled with the view of Lesbia as a Muse if it is viewed in the light of poem 51. As mentioned above, the addressee there has been associated not only with Sappho, but also with the recipient of the original poem, and it can be argued that she is a parallel to the *Sapphica Musa* of poem 35. If at the same time she is to be understood as Sappho, Sappho the Muse and the *Sapphica Musa* merge with a single stroke. Even if this is not accepted, and Heyworth's objection is considered effective, the Lesbia-as-Muse hypothesis does of course not stand and fall with poem 35, and the poem does in any case bear further testimony to Catullus' concern with Sappho, supporting a Sapphic understanding (whatever its nature) of the name 'Lesbia'.

Before leaving the discussion of Lesbia as a Muse, it is necessary to face one last criticism of the view, again voiced by Holzberg next to his objection already mentioned regarding poem 35. The argument goes that there is no reference in the poems to any literary activity on Lesbia's part. In other words, she is nowhere presented as a *docta puella* whose activities can be compared to those of the Muses, and she can consequently not be conceived of as being associated with them. In answer to this, one can first point to the interpretation of poem 51 suggested above,

[16] Holzberg (2000, p. 33, n. 37). [17] Heyworth (2001, pp. 124–5).

in which Lesbia becomes a *docta puella* through assimilation not with the Muses, but with the *docta puella* in Sappho's original poem. A passage such as that from Propertius above would simply seem out of place in Catullus. Finally, one can question if a presentation as a *docta puella* is necessary to establish an understanding of Lesbia as a Muse. A girl or woman can after all function as a poet's Muse without being a poet herself. In the case of Lesbia, moreover, there is a quite strong and direct link between Lesbia as Sappho and Sappho as Muse, which has been seen to be supported even in the passage from Propertius. The conclusion must be that Holzberg's argument cannot be decisive against the interpretation advanced here.

Beauty

Despite the appropriateness of the interpretation of Lesbia as a Muse, there is one distinct problem regarding the understanding of the name as a reference to Sappho. This problem is the fact that the Sappho of the tradition was presented as ugly (see esp. *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1),[18] which of course would not be a happy connotation when addressing a mistress.

In stark contrast to Sappho's traditional ugliness,[19] Catullus' poems to Lesbia abound with references to her beauty, for instance poem 86, where her beauty is praised at the expense of a Quintia: *Lesbia formosa est, quae cum pulcherrima tota est, | tum omnibus una omnis surripuit Veneres* (Catull. 86.5–6, 'Lesbia is beautiful: for she possesses all the beauties, and has stolen all the graces from all the women alone for herself'). How, then, can the name 'Lesbia' be interpreted as a reference to an ugly poetess?

One influential approach to this question is that of Luigi Alfonsi,[20] who argues that the name 'Lesbia' does not, or at least not only, refer to Sappho. Looked at in general, the term refers to any woman from the island of Lesbos, and it can only secondarily refer to Sappho as the most famous one. According to Alfonsi, the generality of the name 'Lesbia' becomes important because he finds Lesbian women to have been

[18] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 30–4.

[19] This ugliness may be more 'traditional' within scholarship than within the ancient tradition, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 34.

[20] Alfonsi (1950).

proverbially famous for their beauty in antiquity. Not referred to by Alfonsi, but supporting his observation, is the description of the Lesbian girls offered to Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*:[21]

> δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας,
> Λεσβίδας, ἃς ὅτε Λέσβον ἐυτικμένην ἕλεν αὐτὸς
> ἐξελόμην, αἳ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν.
>
> Hom. *Il.* 9.128–30

> And I will give seven women skilled in noble handiwork, women of Lesbos, whom on the day when Achilles himself took well-built Lesbos I chose out for myself from the spoil, who in beauty surpassed all the tribes of women.

Alfonsi himself stresses evidence for yearly beauty-contests at the sanctuary of Hera at Lesbos, including a scholion on *Iliad* 9.128:

παρὰ Λεσβίοις ἀγὼν ἄγεται κάλλους γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει λεγόμενους Καλλιστεῖα.

Among the people of Lesbos there is a contest in beauty held in the sacred precinct of Hera, called the Kallisteia.

And Alcaeus fragment 130b:[22]

> ὄππαι Λ[εσβί]αδες κριννόμεναι φύαν
> πώλεντ' ἐλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει
> ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων
> ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας
>
> Alc. fr. 130b.32–5 Voigt

> . . . where Lesbian women with trailing robes go to and fro being judged for beauty, and around rings the marvellous sound of the sacred yearly shout of women . . .

Alfonsi also points to the intriguing split into two Sappho figures in the tradition, one of which was the poetess and the other an unrelated 'other Sappho', as testified by a second entry for the name Sappho in *Suda*:[23]

Σαπφώ, Λεσβία ἐκ Μιτυλήνης, ψάλτρια. αὕτη δι' ἔρωτα Φάωνος τοῦ Μιτυληναίου ἐκ τοῦ Λευκάτου κατεπόντωσεν ἑαυτήν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ταύτης εἶναι λυρικὴν ἀνέγραψαν ποίησιν.

Suda Σ 108

[21] See Griffin (1995, *ad loc.*), noting that Briseis is immediately afterwards presented as being among these women.

[22] This reference is given in connection with the same point also by Dover (1989, p. 181).

[23] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 399.

A Lesbian from Mytilene, a lyre-player. This Sappho leapt from the cliff of Leucates and drowned herself for the love of Phaon the Mytilenean. Some have said that she too composed lyric poetry.

Thus, Alfonsi can solve the problem represented by Sappho's traditional ugliness by claiming that Catullus' name 'Lesbia' refers, at least primarily, to the traditional beauty of Lesbian girls in general.

A final quotation of interest in Alfonsi is an anonymous epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, which he reads as a reference to the beauty-contests at Lesbos:

> *ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,*
> *Λεσβίδες, ἁβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἑλισσόμεναι,*
> *ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇ χορόν*
>
> *Anth. Pal.* 9.189.1–3

> Ladies of Lesbos, come here, whirling as you foot it delicately, to the splendid sanctuary of bull-faced Hera, there to dance a lovely measure to the goddess

However, it is noteworthy that Alfonsi skips the remaining part of this epigram, which runs:[24]

> *. . . ὔμμι δ' ἀπάρξει*
> *Σαπφὼ χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.*
> *ὄλβιαι ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἦ γλυκὺν ὕμνον*
> *εἰσαΐειν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.*
>
> *Anth. Pal.* 9.189.3–6

> . . . and for you Sappho, holding her golden lyre, shall strike up the tune. You are blessed, indeed, in that dance's delight; truly you shall deem that you listen to the sweet hymning of Calliope herself.

One sees that there is here actually an explicit reference to Sappho as a poetess, and she is even presented as a Muse equated with Calliope, who is presented as the foremost of the Muses in Hesiod's *Theogony*:

> *Ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,*
> *ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι,*
> *Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε*
> *Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε*
> *Καλλιόπη θ'· ἣ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων*
> . . .
>
> Hes. *Theog.* 76–9

[24] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 340–1.

> These things, then, the Muses sang, who have their mansions on Olympus, the nine daughters born of great Zeus, Clio and Euterpe and Thalia and Melpomene and Terpsichore and Erato and Polymnia and Ourania and Calliope—she is the greatest of them all . . .

As suggested by the ending of *Anth. Pal.* 9.189, Alfonsi probably stresses his point about the general beauty of Lesbian women too strongly at the cost of the association with Sappho, but it could be argued that both connotations are equally relevant when it comes to explaining Catullus' choice of the name 'Lesbia'.

The Hetaera

So far all the connotations of the name 'Lesbia' discussed have been complimentary apart from the possible association with physical ugliness, for which there are in fact fewer ancient attestations than there are of an association between Sappho and beauty (whether internal or external).[25] It turns out, however, that the name 'Lesbia' also has a number of even more negative connotations, which are moreover not so easily explained away. This raises the question of how these negative associations are to be reconciled with the positive ones, a question which is naturally of fundamental importance and so must be addressed.

A first set of negative associations comes from the fact that 'Lesbia' was in antiquity a name associated with hetaerae, whose names were often, like those of slaves, based on geographical locations.[26] As pointed out by Holzberg,[27] this or something similar must be the identity of the Lesbia in Horace *Epodes* 12.17, where a male *persona* defends himself against a female customer who is dissatisfied and has cursed the woman who introduced her to him: *. . . pereat male, quae te | Lesbia quarenti taurum monstrauit inertem* ('Damn that woman Lesbia who, when I was looking for a bull, directed me to a passive creature like yourself!'). It could also seem to be the identity of a Lesbia who appears in Martial and is clearly cast as a *fellatrix* ('female cock-sucker'): *Quod fellas et aquam potas, nil,*

[25] See the Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 34.

[26] Cf. Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8. See also Lieberg (1962, p. 83) and Brenk (1980, p. 710) with reference to Schneider's list of *Hetairennamen*, *RE* 8 cols 1362–71, cf. too Kennedy (1993, p. 88).

[27] Holzberg (2000, p. 31).

Lesbia, peccas: | *qua tibi parte opus est, Lesbia, sumis aquam* (Mart. 2.50, 'You suck and drink water, Lesbia. Nothing wrong with that. You take water where it is needed, Lesbia').[28]

Holzberg argues that Catullus' Lesbia should less be related to an extra-textual Roman reality than understood as a literary construction based on the stock figure of the hetaera in New Comedy.[29] Like the comic hetaera she is unfaithful and promiscuous, as in poem 11.17–20, notably in the Sapphic stanza:

> cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis,
> quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
> nullum amans vere,[30] sed identidem omnium
> ilia rumpens.
>
> Catull. 11.17–20

Bid her live and be happy with her paramours, three hundred of whom she holds at once in her embrace, not loving one of them really, but again and again rupturing the groins of all.[31]

In poem 72, the *amator* admits to having in fact become more physically attracted to her after learning about her scandalous behaviour:

> nunc te cognoui: quare etsi impensius uror,
> multo mi tamen es uilior et leuior.
> qui potis est? inquis. quod amantem iniuria talis
> cogit amare magis, sed bene uelle minus.
>
> Catull. 72.5–8

Now I know you; and therefore, though I burn more ardently, yet you are in my sight much cheaper and lighter. How can that be? you say. Because such an injury as this drives a lover to be more of a lover, but less of a friend.

A particular feature of the hetaera is naturally her beauty. Here Holzberg refers to Alfonsi, but it can be argued that the context of his interpretation implies a modification of Alfonsi's conception. Whereas Alfonsi

[28] For Lesbia and *fellatio*, see pp. 107–13.

[29] Holzberg (2000, p. 30). James (2003, p. 21) finds this to be a general characteristic of all the elegiac *puellae*. Skinner (1983, pp. 275–6) argues that Cicero's Clodia should be regarded as no less a literary construction than Catullus' Lesbia, and Geffcken (1973, pp. 27–43) identifies an assimilation with two stock figures from comedy: (1) the hetaera and (2) the mock-epic *imperatrix*.

[30] For Menandrian echoes in this passage, see Harrison (2015).

[31] For further discussions of this poem, see Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 121–3.

seems to have in mind the positive quality of innocent beauty, Holzberg's beauty has a more negative character by being related to the seductiveness of a mercenary courtesan.

In the further development of his argument, Holzberg identifies an important link between the name 'Lesbia' and the figure of the hetaera, other than that it was a common name for such women. As already established, the name can be read as a reference to Sappho. So far, Sappho has been considered in the capacity of her poetry, which was held in high esteem in antiquity. Holzberg, however, points to the fact that there also existed a literary tradition in which she was confounded with the figure of a hetaera.[32] This should make it possible to argue that the name 'Lesbia' refers to Sappho in the negative capacity of being a hetaera. One can also note that 'the other Sappho', already introduced in connection with Alfonsi above, was probably invented because it was felt necessary to separate Sappho the poetess from this Sappho the *hetaera*.[33]

As argued by Holzberg,[34] the negative tradition about Sappho probably derived at least in part from the fact that she, as a lesbian in the modern sense of the word, seemed to usurp the manly dominant role in sexual relationships. Not referred to by Holzberg, but supporting his position, is Horace's description of her: *temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho* (Hor. *Epist*. 1.19.28: 'manlike Sappho moulds her Muse by the rhythm of Archilochus') in conjunction with Porphyry's comment on this Horatian line: *'mascula' autem 'Sappho', uel quia in poetico studio est <incluta>, in quo saepius uiri, uel quia tribas diffamatur fuisse* ('"Masculine Sappho", either because she is famous for her poetry, in which men more often excel, or because she is maligned as having been a tribad [i.e. lesbian]'),[35] where intrusion into the manly sphere of producing poetry is given as an additional reason for Sappho's 'masculinity'. I myself find it possible to emphasize how this figure of the dominant Sappho seems to mirror Lesbia's role as a sexually active subject in Catullus' poems. In any case, there seems to be no doubt about the fact that Sappho's homoeroticism is perceived as negative in the sources, for instance in Chamaeleon's *On Sappho*:[36] κ[α]τηγόρηται δ' ὑπ' ἐν[ί]ω[ν] ὡς

[32] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 36.

[33] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8 for further details regarding this idea.

[34] Holzberg (2000, pp. 35–6 and 2009, p. 20).

[35] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 324.

[36] Cf. Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 33, n. 30 for discussions regarding the relationship between Chamaeleon and *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1; see also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 295.

ἄτακτος οὖ[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε[ράσ]τρια.[37] (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1, 'She has been accused by some of being irregular in her ways and a woman-lover'). Similarly, *Suda* Σ 107, which is actually the first entry on the poetess and not the second one on 'the other Sappho' cited above: ἑταῖραι δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ φίλαι γεγόνασι τρεῖς, Ἀτθίς, Τελεσίππα, Μεγάρα· πρὸς ἃς καὶ διαβολὴν ἔσχεν αἰσχρᾶς φιλίας ('She had three companions and friends, Atthis, Telesippa, and Megara, and she got a bad name for her impure friendship with them').[38]

The more specific association between the name Sappho and prostitution can be found in Nymphodorus, Seneca, Tatian, and Aelian,[39] though the specific significance of each of these testimonies remains elusive.[40]

Fellatio

Related to the association of the name 'Lesbia' with a hetaera is another important negative connotation. As argued only more recently, it is possible to connect the name to the fact that Lesbian women in antiquity were famous for their expertise at performing the sexual act of fellatio.[41] Indeed, this reputation was so strong that the verb λεσβιάζειν was even formed, which is glossed in *LSJ* as 'do like the Lesbian women, Lat. *fellare*'. Dover points to the gloss on the verb in Hesychius,[42] whereas Henderson identifies it as the *uox propria* for fellatio in Attic Comedy,[43] with the comment that the Lesbian attribution seems to mirror the modern English and American attribution of shameless lovemaking techniques to the French. Holzberg attests to the same tendency in German by equating the verb with 'es jemandem Französisch machen'.[44] Relevant in this connection is the use of the name 'Lesbia' in Martial 2.50, quoted above, where the act in question must be seen as fellatio, and one may at this point notice the twofold repetition of the name in the poem, which

[37] See Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 48, n. 10.

[38] See Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 48 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 397–8.

[39] For the texts, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 311–12, 344, 367–9, 380–1.

[40] For discussions of the testimonies by these authors throughout this volume, see the general index.

[41] The first mention of the idea I am aware of is Randall (1979). Then follows Wirshbo (1980), apparently unaware of Randall, and Wiseman (1985, pp. 135–6), who distances himself from the view. Most recently the case has been argued by Holzberg (2000 and 2002 *passim*).

[42] Dover (1989, p. 182). [43] Henderson (1991, pp. 183–4).

[44] Holzberg (2002a, p. 16).

serves to draw attention to the connotation.[45] Mankin has observed that the connotation may be relevant for the Lesbia in Horace *Epodes* 12.17, also quoted above.[46]

An association of Lesbia with fellatio would suit Catullus' untrammelled eroticism in general. However, specific evidence can arguably be found in the much-debated word *glubit* of poem 58:

> Caeli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa
> illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam
> plus quam se atque suos amauit omnes,
> nunc in quadriuiis et angiportis
> glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes.

O, Caelius, my Lesbia, that Lesbia, Lesbia whom alone Catullus loved more than himself and all his own, now in the cross-roads and alleys *glubit* the descentants of lordly minded Remus.

Apart from this single instance in Catullus, the verb is known only as an agricultural term, referring to the removal of the bark from a tree-branch, the husk from a barley-corn or the skin from an animal carcass.[47] Catullus' use is consequently metaphorical, but the lack of material for comparison makes it difficult to establish precisely what kind of action he has in mind.

Apart from Kenneth Quinn,[48] who suggests rather flatly that Lesbia strips her lovers of their clothes and their cash, there seems to be a consensus that the meaning of the verb is obscene. Lenz, Penella, and Jocelyn read it as a reference to retraction of the foreskin as a preliminary manual stimulation to effect arousal without any specification of what follows, comparing the assistance an impotent *poeta* is given in Ovid's famous impotence poem:[49]

> Hanc etiam non est mea dedignata puella
> molliter admota sollicitare manu.
>
> Ov. *Am.* 3.7.73–4

Moreover my girl did not refrain from applying her hand and gently coaxing it.

[45] On *redende Namen* in Martial, see Richlin (1993, p. 129).
[46] Mankin (1995, *ad loc.*).
[47] See Jocelyn (1979, p. 88) and Adams (1982, p. 168).
[48] Quinn (1973, *ad loc.*).
[49] Lenz (1963), Penella (1976), and Jocelyn (1979).

Arkins argues that the reference is rather to the specific act of full masturbation,[50] whereas Wilhelm Kroll rejects this in favour of a reference to initial manual stimulation again.[51] J. G. Randall agrees with Kroll,[52] but suggests that there is at the same time an innuendo of fellatio, which he connects to the association with λεσβιάζειν generated by Lesbia's name. As an argument for the latter, he interestingly points out that the pronunciation of the word *glubit* shapes the mouth in a way similar to that necessary for the performance of fellatio. For this, he finds a parallel in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* 918–20, where the First Old Woman insults the Girl by saying:

> ἤδη τὸν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας
> τρόπον, τάλαινα, κνησιᾷς.
> δοκεῖς δέ μοι καὶ λάβδα κατὰ τοὺς Λεσβίους.
>
> Ar. *Eccl.* 918–20

> Poor thing, you're already itching for the Ionian toy, and I think you also want to do the L, like the Lesbians.

λάβδα here is clearly, as argued also by Henderson,[53] onomatopoetic. Jocelyn notes that the Attic comedies were available in Roman libraries and points to Greek theories of onomatopoetics,[54] but still ends up dismissing Randall's view with the claim that the mouth opening in the pronunciation of *glubit* is too narrow for the performance of fellatio. Randall must be right, though, in rejecting this particular argument with the observation that the movement of the mouth remains after all only suggestive.[55]

A poem which is frequently invoked in the discussion of the *glubit* in Catullus 58 is Ausonius' epigram describing the promiscuous practices of a certain Crispa:

> deglubit, fellat, molitur per utramque cauernam,
> ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
>
> Auson. *Epigr.* 71.7–8

> . . . so that she leave nothing untried and die frustrated, she masturbates, she sucks, and she is ground through either orifice.

[50] Arkins (1979). [51] Kroll (1960, *ad loc.*).
[52] Randall (1979, p. 29, clarified 1980).
[53] Henderson (1991, pp. 183–4). Compare also Aristophanes *Ran.* 1308, as also observed in Ingleheart, Chapter 11, n. 40.
[54] Jocelyn (1979, pp. 89 and 91). [55] Randall (1980).

The point of interest is naturally the verb *deglubit*, which, as indicated in the translation, is similar in meaning to Catullus' *glubit*. Moreover, the context here seems to exclude a reference to fellatio, which is covered by the following verb *fellat*, whereas the final *molitur per utramque cauernam* covers vaginal and anal sex, leaving some kind of manual interpretation of *deglubit* plausible. Accordingly, Arkins finds support here for a reference to masturbation in Catullus, while Lenz, Penella, and Jocelyn find support for a reference to manual stimulation, all agreeing that Ausonius' *deglubit* reflects a proper understanding, and perhaps is even a conscious imitation, of Catullus' *glubit*. Skutsch, however, points to the distance of four hundred years in time between the two poets,[56] which makes it unlikely that Ausonius should know the meaning of Catullus' verb any better than we do. There may, then, be a case for reading Ausonius' *deglubit* as referring to some kind of manual action, but to move from this singular case to another singular case four hundred years earlier remains problematic at least.

Nevertheless, I myself find it sensible to argue that Catullus' *glubit* can be understood as a reference to fellatio. The main reason is that the link between the name 'Lesbia' and the verb λεσβιάζειν appears so strong that this alone would justify the interpretation. Significant in this context appears the fact that the name is repeated no less than three times in this five- line poem, just as the same name is repeated twice in Martial 2.50 above, where the reference was found to be undoubtedly to fellatio.[57] As just mentioned, the reading is suggested by Randall as an additional innuendo in connection with the name of Lesbia. Holzberg makes the same case as I do for fellatio,[58] but suggests that Catullus with his choice of verb is being consciously vague, leaving in principle all the other readings so far discussed as possible. Acknowledging this possibility,[59] I still find the argument from the name so strong that I am less inclined to accept ambiguity in this particular case. On a larger scale, I then believe that poem 58 plays a key role in establishing the link between the name 'Lesbia' and the act of λεσβιάζειν within the Catullan text.

[56] Skutsch (1980).

[57] Could this be used as an argument that Martial is alluding to Catullus 58, or at least to the Catullan Lesbia's name understood as a reference to fellatio? If so that becomes another argument for the reading of *glubit* argued here.

[58] Holzberg (2002a, p. 98).

[59] See also Levin's two studies (1959 and 1969) on Catullan ambiguity, to which I shall return.

Looking for support besides the link suggested by the name, one may initially note that neither Arkins nor Skutsch offer any argument for their rejection of a reference to fellatio. As mentioned, Jocelyn rejects Randall's identification of onomatopoeia, but his reason was found dubious above, and Randall's argument is not decisive anyway. Important independent evidence, however, comes in my opinion from Catullus himself:

> Bononiensis Rufa Rufulum fellat
> uxor Meneni, saepe quam in sepulcretis
> uidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam,
> cum deuolutum ex igne prosequens panem
> ab semiraso tunderetur ustore.
>
> Catull. 59

> Rufa of Bobonia sucks her Rufulus, Rufa, Menenius' wife, whom you have often seen in the graveyard grabbing the baked meats from the very pyre, and while reaching for a loaf rolling down out of the fire getting pounded by a half-shaven corpse burner.

As can be seen, this poem explicitly mentions fellatio, and a link to poem 58 seems to be forged by the fact that this is the immediately following poem, by the use of similar abusive language, and perhaps also by the fact that both poems have the same number of lines.[60] Lenz also observes the connection, but uses it to support his own interpretation of *glubit*, claiming that the two poems show a progressive development from manual to oral genital stimulation, and that this is also mirrored in the placement of *deglubit* first in Ausonius 79, which becomes an argument that Ausonius has understood Catullus correctly also in the transition between these two poems. As I see it, this is unnecessarily complicated, and I rather find that poem 59 supports the view that fellatio is meant also in poem 58. This seems also to be the somewhat more cautious opinion of Holzberg.[61]

Further important evidence for the suggested interpretation of *glubit* in poem 58, and more generally for the reading of the name 'Lesbia' as a reference to fellatio, comes as I see it from poem 79:

[60] On pairing as an ordering principle in poetry books of the Augustan age, see Port (1926, p. 460), and for the same principle in Catullus, see the reference to Port in Skinner (2007b, p. 39).

[61] Holzberg (2000, p. 98).

Lesbius est pulcher: quid ni? quem Lesbia malit
quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.
sed tamen hic pulcher uendat cum gente Catullum,
si tria notorum sauia reppererit.

Catull. 79

Lesbius is a pretty boy; why not? since Lesbia likes him better than you, Catullus, with all your kin. But let this pretty boy sell Catullus and all his kin if he can find three acquaintances to vouch for him.

This poem is naturally a key one for those who argue for the identification of Lesbia with Clodia Metelli, *pulcher* being read as a pun on the name of Clodia's brother P. Clodius Pulcher and the coupling 'Lesbius'—'Lesbia' as an allusion to the rumoured incestuous relationship between Clodius and his sisters.[62] In the present context, however, the interest lies in the reference to the foulness of Lesbius' mouth. According to Marilyn Skinner,[63] the point of the poem is that Clodius is ridiculed as a *puer delicatus* who performs cunnilingus, deemed the lowest of sexual activities for a man, and that even on his own sister.[64] Holzberg, on the other hand, argues that the traditional biographical interpretation should be disregarded, and that Lesbius should instead be read as a literary construct who shares with the other construct Lesbia a passion for performing fellatio on men.[65] In this instance, however, it could be argued that Holzberg overstates the case for fiction.[66] Furthermore, the reference to cunnilingus, which is the only interpretation compatible with a reference to incest, would imply that the grammatical transformation from the feminine 'Lesbia' to the masculine 'Lesbius' is neatly accompanied by a transformation from female to male oral sex. The association of the name 'Lesbius' with some kind of oral sex here strengthens the case for an

[62] See Quinn (1973, *ad loc.*), Skinner (1982, pp. 197–8), and most recently Thomson (1997, *ad loc.*).

[63] Skinner (1982).

[64] For the role of the *os impurum* in Roman humour, see Richlin (1993, pp. 26 and 69). Somewhat surprisingly, the present poem is absent from her discussion of the point in Catullus (p. 150), but one may note the interesting reference to Cicero's attack on Clodius' henchman Sextus Cloelius (p. 99).

[65] Holzberg (2000, pp. 30 and 39–40, and 2002a p. 16).

[66] Relevant in this connection seems the warning of Clarke (1976) against the perversities of interpretation that can become the result of a too dogmatic emphasis on fiction. Catullus' Lesbia is one of his prime cases in point, as he finds it absurd to deny the existence of a real love-affair behind Catullus' poems.

association of the name 'Lesbia' with fellatio more generally in Catullus' poems. The use of the two names so close together in this poem should also give weight to the association in a way analogous to that of the threefold repetition of the name 'Lesbia' in poem 58 and the twofold in Martial 2.50 above.

Relevant to the discussion of the *glubit* in 58 and of poem 79 is finally the immediately following poem 80:

> Quid dicam, Gelli, quare rosea ista labella
> hiberna fiant candidiora niue,
> mane domo cum exis et cum te octaua quiete
> e molli longo suscitat hora die?
> nescio quid certest: an uere fama susurrat
> grandia te medii tenta uorare uiri?
> sic certest: clamant Victoris rupta miselli
> ilia, et emulso labra notata sero.
>
> Catull. 80

> What reason can I give, Gellius, why those ruddy lips become whiter than winter's snow when you rise in the morning or the eighth hour awakes you from your soft siesta in the long day? Something surely is afoot: is it true what gossip whispers, that you swallow the large tautness at a male's middle? Yes, that's surely it: the ruptured loins of poor Victor cry it aloud, and your lips are stained with milked-out sperm.

As should be clear, this poem does without doubt refer to fellatio, and Minkova must be right in drawing a parallel between the pair 79 and 80 and the case of 58 and 59 above.[67] In other words, poem 80 clarifies that poem 79 must be a reference to oral sex. Furthermore, and of greater importance in the present context, this relationship between poems 79 and 80 supports the claim that the relationship between 58 and 59 is the same, and that poem 59 consequently explains the *glubit* of poem 58 as a reference to fellatio. The case for a parallel between the two pairs is strengthened by Holzberg's apt comparison of the coupling 'Lesbius'—'Lesbia' of poem 79 with the 'Rufa'—'Rufulus' of poem 59,[68] and by Nappa's[69] observation that the coupling 'Rufa'—'Rufulus' is probably hinting at an incestuous relationship.

[67] Minkova (2002, p. 261).
[68] Holzberg (2002a, p. 99).
[69] Nappa (1999, p. 331).

Summary and Conclusion

It should by now have been established that the name 'Lesbia' in Catullus may have four different connotations: (1) a reference to Sappho the poet, (2) a reference to the proverbial beauty and sophistication of Lesbian women, (3) a reference to the promiscuous figure of the hetaera, and (4) a reference to the verb λεσβιάζειν signifying the act of performing fellatio. The two first connotations can be viewed as positive, whereas the two last are negative, and an important issue which remains to be settled is then how these positive and negative connotations are to be reconciled.

Taking a look at the existing views on the matter, one should first note that not all scholars identify both positive and negative connotations and thus realize the problem. For instance, Quinn only finds a reference to Sappho, which he interprets as an 'innocent-sounding substitute' for the mistress' real name.[70] Among those who do realize both possibilities, Randall and Wiseman find that the positive and the negative connotations are mutually exclusive, since, according to their line of reasoning, the name can only have been meant as a compliment or an insult.[71] Both take it for granted that only the former can have been the case, and Wiseman even suggests that Catullus trusted Lesbia to understand the relevance of the positive connotations alone. An entirely different approach to the problem is taken by Holzberg.[72] Arguing as seen above that there is not sufficient support for a reference to Sappho in the case of the Lesbia-figure, he suggests a splitting up of associations where the negative connotations are relevant for Lesbia and the Sapphic connotation for the literary figure of the *poeta*. Holzberg admits, however, that this line of division is not absolute, since the Sapphic connotation to a certain extent is relevant also for the Lesbia-figure and the negative associations to a certain extent for the *poeta*.

Helpful here are two brief suggestions made by Wirshbo and Brenk.[73] The former claims to be the first to identify the link to λεσβιάζειν and suggests that the name may have both 'sublime' and 'lewd' connotations at the same time,[74] which would be consistent with Catullus' 'tendency to

[70] Quinn (1973, p. x). [71] Randall (1979, p. 28); Wiseman (1985, pp. 135–6).
[72] Holzberg (2000, pp. 34–5 and 2002a pp. 36–7).
[73] Wirshbo (1980); Brenk (1980, p. 710).
[74] It has been pointed out above that the idea was in fact introduced the year before in the important paper by Randall (1979).

self-mockery'.[75] The latter suggests in passing that the name is 'ambiguous', alluding to the great poetess at the same time as it is a name for hetaerae. This approach arguably represents the key to the problem, since it can be claimed that the fundamental point regarding the name 'Lesbia' is that the positive and the negative connotations are equally relevant. In view of the discussion above, however, Wirshbo and Brenk each miss one important possible negative connotation, Wirshbo that of the hetaera and Brenk that of fellatio. Moreover, both of course lack the thorough close encounter with the poems necessary to prove the point, which has hopefully been achieved through the analyses above. From these readings has hopefully also emerged the insight that the point is much more important than what either Wirshbo or Brenk makes of it. In fact, it could be compellingly argued that the tension between the two polarities of meaning in the name mirrors the fundamental tension of feeling in the Lesbia-corpus as a whole, expressed in the famous *odi et amo* statement of poem 85. The overall programme of the Lesbia poems is to capture an emotionally ambivalent relationship, and it must be considered a stroke of poetic genius that Catullus has managed to capture the essence of this project in the very choice of a poetic name.

Arguing more in detail for the interpretation now advanced, one may first note a certain uneasiness among some who hold the one-dimensional view, for instance Amy Richlin, who has to admit that the 'Lesbius' of poem 79 'can hardly have been meant to be complimentary',[76] and Ellen Greene, who finds that 'it is highly ironic that the name "Lesbia" should call Sappho to mind given Catullus' mostly negative depiction of his mistress throughout the corpus'.[77] Copley and R. O. A. M. Lyne stress Catullus' interest in exploring conflicting emotions.[78] Maria Wyke finds that Lesbia is 'simultaneously depicted as demonized whore and exalted goddess',[79] and in his analysis of poem 64 Michael Putnam finds the twin myths of Peleus–Thetis and Theseus–Ariadne to depict Lesbia as Catullus would ideally have her and Lesbia as sorrowfully perceived.[80] David Rankin draws on psychoanalytic theory to explain the origin of Catullus'

[75] Cf. Catull. 16, Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 51. [76] Richlin (1993, p. 148).
[77] Greene (2007, p. 136). [78] Copley (1949); Lyne (1980, pp. 19–61).
[79] Wyke (2002, p. 2). [80] Putnam (1961).

emotional ambivalence.[81] Against Randall and Wiseman it can be argued that the positive and the negative connotations as seen have equal support in the text, and that it consequently seems arbitrary to choose the one set over the other. With the exclusion of the negative connotations one loses the aspect of hate expressed in poem 85, and the argument that Lesbia would know which alternative to choose strikes me as particularly weak. As for Holzberg's view, it might be argued that the splitting up of the connotations appears forced. His analysis of the *persona* is compelling, but to mix this up with the associations generated by the name of the other poetic entity appears less so. A removal of the Sapphic connotation from the Lesbia construct leads to the loss of the important association of Lesbia with the role of a Muse, and Holzberg's own admission that his dividing line is not clear is in my opinion telling.

A particular problem with the advanced interpretation is that it may at first seem difficult to reconcile with the idea of a real-life relationship lying behind the poetic text. This is also a problem neglected by Brenk and Wirshbo, especially since the latter's exclusive focus on 'self-mockery' does not take account of the fact that the poems are likely to have had an actual recipient who might also perceive the negative connotations. It is naturally such a real-life reading that lies behind Randall's and Wiseman's rejection of the negative associations, and since any interpretation of the Lesbia poems should at least allow for the possibility of a real-life context, given her accepted association with the extra-textual person of Clodia Metelli, this possibility might be pushed further through an interpretation of Catullus' poem 36.1–8, which to my knowledge has not yet been promoted as such:

> Annales Volusi, cacata charta,
> uotum soluite pro mea puella:
> nam sanctae Veneri Cupidinique
> uouit, si sibi restitutus essem
> desissemque truces uibrare iambos,
> electissima pessimi poetae
> scripta tardipedi deo daturam
> infelicibus ustulanda lignis.

[81] Rankin (1962). Precisely the same approach is taken to Propertius by Sullivan (1976, pp. 91–101).

> Chronicle of Volusius, shitty sheet, discharge a vow on behalf of my love; for she vowed to holy Venus and to Cupid that if I were restored to her love and ceased to dart fierce iambics, she would give to the lame-footed god and choicest writings of the worst of poets, to be burnt with wood from some accursed tree.

The point of the poem is the rejection of the verses of Volusius, which Catullus goes on to say will be the writings consigned to the flames by Lesbia. In the present context, however, what is important is the light the poem seems to shed on the relationship between Lesbia and Catullus relative to some invective poems he has written against her. As it appears, Lesbia retorts by jokingly asking Catullus to stop writing in this vein, and this leads as I see it to the possibility that there is not necessarily an impossible contradiction between Lesbia's name having negative connotations and a connection to a real-life mistress. The abusive poems may reflect some real hate, but at the same time poem 36 indicates that Catullus and his Lesbia could relate jokingly to such a matter. Perhaps the negative connotations of the name 'Lesbia' itself could, at least in part, be seen as having the character of a joke.[82]

[82] In this light can perhaps also be seen Randall's observation (1979, p. 30) that the normal agricultural meaning of the verb *glubit* in poem 58 could make it possible for Catullus to claim that the poem was not meant as an insult after all.

6

Sapphic Echoes in Catullus 1–14

Olivier Thévenaz

Sappho's presence in Catullus is often addressed through discussion of the name *Lesbia* and the evocation of a small set of poems, in which poem 51 prominently figures.[1] In the following, I will strike out on a different track and explore a poetic sequence that also—but not only—presents the figure of the *puella*, namely poems 1 to 14, which open the Catullan collection.[2] The conspicuous Sapphic echoes in Catullus are introduced in this sequence in a contrasted and varied way, in connection with the themes of love and friendship.

T. P. Wiseman identified the sequence of poems 1–14 as a group opened up and rounded off by two reflexions on poetry.[3] This group presents two main sets of poems, which alternate in order and thus create epigrammatic contrasts and variations.[4] One set is about the *puella*,

[1] On these poems, see Thorsen, Introduction, Hunter, Chapters 2 and 8, and Gram, Chapter 5; also Greene (2007). For a convincing introduction to Sappho in Catullus through the reading of poem 51, see Wray (2001, pp. 88–109); more echoes in Holzberg (2002a, pp. 33–9, and see his Index, s.v. 'Catull – und Sappho'); other elements in Connely (1925), Ferguson (1956), Johnston (1983); see also *infra* n. 18.

[2] All the points made in the present chapter support the (now dominant) idea of an authorial arrangement of the collection, or at least of groups of poems within it; for a useful summary of the debate, see Skinner (2007b).

[3] Wiseman (1969, pp. 7–13); see also e.g. Gaisser (2009, pp. 36–40).

[4] Only poem 4, a dedicatory epigram, does not fit in one of these two groups, but can be explained in a different way: Cameron (1993, pp. 24–33) sees in poems 1–5 a 'Parade' of epigrammatic genres reminiscent of Meleager's *Garland*, with an echo of the collection's prologue in Catullus 1, and then one poem of each book's genre, in the reversed order: epidictic (Catull. 2), funerary (Catull. 3), dedicatory (Catull. 4), and erotic (Catull. 5).

and summarizes the love affair in three famous diptychs, one on the *puella*'s sparrow (2–3), one on the kisses (5 and 7, where the beloved is for the first time named as Lesbia), and one pair of poems of break-up (8 and 11, where the *puella* again becomes anonymous). The other set of poems is addressed to or linked with friends (Catull. 6, 9–10, 12–13, with 1 and 14). Sappho's presence is perceptible above all in connection Lesbia, but also in poems of friendship: as we will see at the end of this paper, there are connections between these themes, and Sapphic echoes even seem to bridge both sets of poems. This point will be of interest for the pragmatics of Sappho's presence in Catullus.

The group of poems 1–14 shows well what I would term the 'two voices of Sappho', adapting Holzberg's concept of 'two faces'.[5] The main Sapphic voice is of course her *erotic voice*, which has prompted her reception in the *symposia* of classical Athens and her later broad fame as a poet *and* as a lover.[6] In Catullus, it is present in poem 51 and elsewhere; in our group (Catull. 1–14), critics have perceived it mainly in poems 2–3 and 11, to which I will add 8 and 6. What I would identify as Sappho's second voice is not really opposed to the first, but rather an extension of that main voice in the specific genre of the wedding song: Sappho's *nuptial voice* was originally consequent on the erotic one, since she probably celebrated the weddings of the girls of her group, but has also been perceived as distinct from, and even contradictory to, the poems in which the speaker expresses love for some of them.[7] This second voice

[5] Holzberg (2000, esp. pp. 33–5), who argues that Lesbia has to do only with the wanton courtesan, and nothing with the ideal poetess (or tenth Muse), which Catullus takes as a poetic model. But as shown by Gram, Chapter 5, both can arguably be seen in Lesbia. In poem 51 (which I read as a literary experiment, as 50 invites one to do), Catullus explores a set of poetic references inscribed in Lesbia's name; in poem 58 he explores the opposite extreme, the *fellatrix* model. Much like Gram, I rather see Sappho's two faces as the two sides of the same coin: her complex figure has its origin in the *symposia* where her poems were re-performed and made her fame as a poetess *and* as a lover; cf. Thorsen, Introduction, p. 13, n. 41, as well as the following note.

[6] I say 'erotic', not 'female homoerotic', because the type of erotic relationship, in my opinion, is not a decisive factor for the reception of Sappho's songs: of course, it is largely responsible for the reputation of her figure; but her voice has arguably been masculinized and heterosexualized, and is adaptable to different types of love poetry. For Sappho's comic and biographical tradition, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 36 and Most (1995); for the reception of her poems through male banquets, see Nagy (2007) and Yatromanolakis (2007).

[7] As argued by Page (1955, p. 116), the Alexandrian edition of grouped the wedding songs at the end of the metrical books (frr. 27 and 30, probably fr. 44), or in the ninth and last book (frr. 103–17b and distinguished them with the title *Epithalamia*; for the Alexandrian edition, see Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 14–15. For Sappho as a reference in the epithalamic tradition, see *Men. Rhet.* III 402.15–16 Spengel, [D.H.] *Rhet.* 4.1,

is perceptible in Catullus especially in his wedding songs (61 and 62), but also in other poems, where it sometimes happens to contrast with her *erotic voice*: critics have noted that marriage frequently appears as an (often perverted) model in Catullus, above all in the *carmina maiora* and in the epigrams, and one could show how Sapphic echoes underline the dialectics of *matrimonium* and non-marital *eros*.[8] There are also a few traces of this opposition in the *polymetra*. The initial scene of Catullus 51 may be interpreted as an ideal, quasi-matrimonial union, against which the symptoms of erotic passion listed in the next two stanzas stand out.[9] Our cycle offers the clearest example of a nuptial Sapphic echo that contrasts with her erotic voice in poem 11, and perhaps another one in 2b.

I begin by illustrating this contrast in poem 11, before looking for echoes of Sappho in sequential order in the other poems on the *puella* (2, 3, 5, 7, 8). In the last part of this paper, I explore further Sapphic voices in the poems of friendship (12, 13, and especially 6).

Sappho's Erotic and Nuptial Voices in Catullus 11

Sappho's role as a poetic model for Catullus is made explicit in poem 11 by the formal use of the Sapphic stanza—for the first and only time besides poem 51.[10] As a poem of erotic break-up, the second after poem 8, it is in resonance with Sappho's erotic voice. But at the end of Catullus 11, the farewell is followed by a simile that famously recalls her nuptial voice:[11]

Him. *Or.* 9.4, 15, and 19 Colonna, Chor. *Zach.* 19–20; see also Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 348. For Sappho's nuptial voice as a model in Theocritus' 'Epithalamium for Helen' (Theoc. *Id.* 18), see Acosta-Hughes (2010, pp. 32–9); in Catull. 61 and 62, see e.g. Fraenkel (1955), Fedeli (1983, *passim*), and Agnesini (2007, *passim*).

[8] For this dialectics in the *carmina maiora* and the epigrams, see Holzberg (2002a, pp. 55, 111–50) and Wiseman (1969, pp. 20–5); Sandy (1971) on Attis' anti-wedding with Cybele in poem 63.

[9] Cf. Wiseman (1985, p. 153), who refers to the (disputed) nuptial reference in the initial scene of Sappho fr. 31.

[10] The link between Catullus 11 and 51 is also underlined by the prosaic adverb *identidem* in the same metrical position (Catull. 11.19 and Catull. 51.3), and by Sappho's textual presence; see also Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 78–81 and Gram, Chapter 5, p. 105.

[11] Unless otherwise specified, I am using for Catullus the edition of Mynors (1958) and the translation of Godwin (1995 and 1999, sometimes slightly modified), for Sappho the edition of Voigt (1971) and the translation of Carson (2002).

cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis,
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
nullum amans uere, sed identidem omnium
  ilia rumpens,
nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
  tactus aratro est.

Catull. 11.17–24

Let her live and thrive with her lovers whom she grips in her embrace three hundred at a time loving none of them truly but again and again breaking the groins of all, and let her not look back as she once did to my love which has fallen thanks to her blame like a flower at the edge of the meadow, after it has been touched by the passing plough.

The concluding comparison of the speaker's love with a flower cut down by the plough at the edge of the field, as is widely recognized, can be read in connection with nuptial plant images in Catullus, and especially with one wedding-song fragment of Sappho, where a girl to be married is compared to a hyacinth trampled on by shepherds in the mountains: *οἵαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες | πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος* . . . (Sappho fr. 105b Voigt = 105c LP, 'like the hyacinth in the mountains that shepherd men with their feet trample down and on the ground the purple flower . . . ').[12]

This well-known intertextual link implies at least three kinds of contrast between Sappho and Catullus. The most obvious is that of gender: whereas Sappho evokes a girl deflowered by a man, the simile is applied in Catullus to the love of the male speaker, destroyed by the active sexuality of a woman with other men. In connection with that role inversion, there is then a thematic difference between the loss of virginity in Sappho and the end of an erotic ideal in Catullus. Finally, on the level of genre, we no longer have a wedding song, but a poem of erotic break-up with iambic elements. But the nuptial echo is significant precisely because of those contrasts: it suggests a quasi-matrimonial ideal for the

[12] Compare especially Catull. 61.91–3 and 62.39–47. On these flower images, see Khan (1967), Stigers (1977), Celentano (1991), Edwards (1992), and Thévenaz (2004); the classical reading of the whole poem is Putnam (1974). For Sappho fr. 105b, see also Harrison, Chapter 7, pp. 142–3.

speaker's exclusive love (*meum . . . amorem*), as opposed to the woman's relationship with her three hundred adulterers, of which she loves none truly (*cum suis . . . moechis, | quos . . . tenet trecentos, | nullum amans uere*).[13] Finally, this reversal of a wedding song motif at the end of the poem is strengthened by another one at the beginning of the stanza before: the farewell formula wishing the *puella* a happy life with her lovers (*cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis*) can be read as a parody of the traditional wishes addressed to bride and groom at the end of the wedding song: *at, boni | coniuges, bene uiuite et | munere assiduo ualentem | exercete iuuentam* (Catull. 61.232–5, 'Good wedded people, live well and keep your youth fit and strong in constant exercise of its function'). Catullus 11 seems thus to combine Sappho's erotic and nuptial voices.

We could make a similar observation, at the beginning of our sequence, about Catullus 2b. In our corpus of Sappho's fragments, the flower image (see above, Sappho fr. 105b Voigt = 105c LP) is paralleled by an apple simile (Sappho fr. 105a Voigt); both probably come from the same wedding song, and both are combined in Longus (3.33–4) in connection with the story of Atalanta. Now, we find in Catullus 2b a comparison that possibly relates to this: *tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae | pernici aureolum fuisse malum, | quod zonam soluit diu ligatam* (Catull. 2b.1–3, 'is as welcome to me as (they say) the fast girl found the little golden apple which undid her girdle that had been tied for a long time'). Unfortunately, we cannot know if there actually was in Sappho, besides the apple simile, something in the context—a reference to Atalanta?—that could strengthen the parallel with Catullus; and the text of Catullus' poem is too uncertain to affirm a direct connection.[14] But as in Catullus 11, there is a gender reversal and a reference to marriage in these lines too: in fact, the comparison casts the speaker in the role of a *puella* and presents him as rejoicing as much as Atalanta did over the apple that led to her wedding and defloration. And this nuptial ideal in Catullus 2b contrasts with the portrait of the *puella* in Catullus 2–3, where she is arguably presented as a courtesan similar to those in Greek erotic epigram.

[13] For the Menandrian echoes in this line, see Harrison (2015).
[14] Such a connection is probable, however: Ingleheart (2003, pp. 557–8).

Opening the Collection: Catullus 2–3 and Sappho 1

In the rich Sapphic network of Catullus 1–14, there are numerous echoes of one particular poem, the so-called 'Ode to Aphrodite' (Sappho 1 Voigt).[15] Scholars have already perceived resonances of that ode in Catullus' poems 2 and 3.[16] In this section, I integrate them into a new intertextual reading; in the next one, I will add Catullus 8 to the argument.

The original performance context of Sappho's hymn, once the social and ritual environment of archaic Lesbos has disappeared, is hardly definable.[17] More importantly for its reception, however, we are better informed on that prayer's later context in book form: we know that the Alexandrian scholars placed it at the very beginning of their edition of Sappho's poems, probably because of its readability as a programmatic invocation to the goddess of love and love poetry. In Sappho's reception since Hellenistic times, several reflections of Sappho 1 are perceptible in programmatic poems, especially at the opening of books.[18] The fact that there are a number of echoes of this poem at the beginning of Catullus' collection might therefore reflect the initial position of Sappho's prayer in her Alexandrian edition.

Commentaries on Catullus 2 and 3, his *passer*-poems, regularly refer to Sappho 1 for the connection of the sparrow with Aphrodite.[19] A closer relationship between this Catullan diptych and Sappho's 'Ode to Aphrodite' has already been shown by Frederick Brenk, and especially Jennifer Ingleheart, who speaks of 'a programmatic pair of Sapphic epigrams', also with regard to the diptych's opening position in the Catullan *Liber*.[20] The echoes are both formal and thematic, but distorted

[15] For a quotation of the poem in full, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, pp. 65–6.

[16] See nn. 19–20.

[17] Sappho's I and Aphrodite's You are tied to a 'here and now' (*ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ'*, Sappho 1.5 Voigt; *ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν*, Sappho 1.25 Voigt), and the recurrence of this occasion is insisted on by the triple repetition of 'again' (*δηὖτε*, Sappho 1.15, 16, 18 Voigt); the reference to love (*ἐς σὰν φιλότατα*, Sappho 1.19 Voigt) suggests a social frame, but we have no clue as to what kind of ritual such a request with a personal dimension implies.

[18] Lucr. 1.1–28 with Hahn (1966); cf. Fulkerson, Chapter 3, pp. 62–7. Hor. *Carm.* 4.1 with Putnam (1986, pp. 39–42), Nagy (1994), Barchiesi (2000), Thévenaz (2003), and Hunter (2007, pp. 213–20 = Chapter 8, pp. 151–9); Ov. *Fast.* 4.1–18 with Barchiesi (1994).

[19] Brenk (1980, p. 704, n. 5) refers to Merrill (1893) and Quinn (1970); Ingleheart (2003, p. 555) adds Forsyth (1986); see also Bishop (1966, pp. 162–3), and Wiseman (1985, p. 138).

[20] Brenk (1980, p. 711) for the opening position; Ingleheart (2003, p. 563).

by the epigrammatic filter. I examine them here successively in both poems, beginning with Catullus 2.

Sappho's 'Ode to Aphrodite' is a cletic hymn with a traditional ABA-structure: the invocation and first expression of the prayer in the first stanza (ll. 1–5) is repeated in the last one (ll. 25–8), after a middle part of five stanzas (ll. 5–24) giving as argument the narrative of an earlier intervention of the goddess in her chariot drawn by sparrows. In Catullus 2, we also have a hymnic composition, with an analogous ABA-structure: the speaker first invokes his mistress's bird *Passer, deliciae meae puellae* (Catull. 2.1, 'Sparrow, precious darling of my sweetheart'); he then describes its consolatory power over her in a long relative clause serving as an argument for his prayer: *quicum ludere . . . solet . . . , | cum desiderio meo nitenti | carum nescio quid lubet iocari | et solaciolum sui doloris, | credo, ut tum grauis acquiescat ardor* (Catull. 2.2–8, 'who she often plays with . . . when she is gleaming with longing for me and wants to do some unspecified fooling about and to enjoy a little solace for her pain, I think, so that her heavy burning passion has relief'); finally, he expresses his wish that he may, like her, play with the bird and relieve the sad worries of his heart: *tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem | et tristis animi leuare curas* (Catull. 2.9–10, 'might I be able to play with you, like the mistress, and to lighten the sad passions of my heart').

Far from excluding the connection, the differences between Catullus' first *passer* poem and the first ode of Sappho's Alexandrian edition illustrate a play with various levels of style that is typical of the epigrammatic genre. The prayer is addressed not to the goddess of love, but to a sparrow, which is no longer a goddess's attribute, but a courtesan's pet, a theme with many parallels in the tradition of epigram.[21] On the one side, Catullus thus degrades the hymn form, all the more so if the addressed sparrow, with which the *puella* plays, 'whom she holds in her lap' (*in sinu tenere*, Catull. 2.2), and whose bites she provokes (*incitare morsus*, Catull. 2.4) so as to relieve her erotic passion, is a metaphor for the male sex organ.[22] On the other side, by assimilating that bird with Aphrodite's attribute in

[21] On the status of the *puella* as a courtesan in these two poems, and on the numerous Greek epigrams on pets of courtesans, see Holzberg (2002a, pp. 30–1), Ingleheart (2003, pp. 553–5), and Thomas (1993).

[22] The question is disputed, but at least a suggestion is most probable: see Giangrande (1975), Jocelyn (1980), Nadeau (1984), Hooper (1985), and Holzberg (2002a, pp. 61–7).

Sappho and by producing a hymn in which the subject of all actions is the beloved, the speaker also—humorously—idealizes the epigrammatic situation and elevates the *puella* to a divine status.

Besides the sparrow and the hymn form, what connects Catullus' poem with Sappho's is also the insistence on erotic passion, underlined by quite marked echoes. Sappho's feminine speaker asks the goddess not to overcome her heart by distress and trouble (*μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, | πότνια, θῦμον*, Sappho 1.3–4 Voigt, 'do not break with hard pains, O lady, my heart'), but to free her from her heavy pains and to fulfil all her heart's desires (*χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον | ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι | θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον*, Sappho 1.25–7 Voigt, 'loose me from hard care and all my heart longs to accomplish, accomplish'). In Catullus, this lexical field is present, but distributed between the *puella* and the male speaker. We find the same idea of desire: the girl glistens with longing for him (*desiderio meo nitenti*, Catull. 2.5), according to the phrase's most probable understanding.[23] She pets the bird to relieve herself of her pain (*solaciolum sui doloris*, Catull. 2.7). This idea of the sparrow consoling her especially reflects Aphrodite's attitude towards the speaker's troubles in the narrative of Sappho's prayer, when she asks her why she again suffers (*δηῦτε ὄττι πέπονθα*, Sappho 1.15 Voigt) and what she wants for herself, mad in her heart (*κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι | μαινόλαι θύμωι*, Sappho 1.17–18 Voigt), and then gives her advice. In Catullus, not only the *puella* tries to calm her passion's heavy heat (*ut tum grauis acquiescat ardor*, Catull. 2.8): the male speaker also wishes he could relieve the sad worries of his heart (*tristis animi leuare curas*, Catull. 2.10). Both wishes exactly match Sappho's prayer to be freed from her heavy pains *χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον | ἐκ μερίμναν* (Sappho 1.25–6 Voigt, 'loose me from hard care').[24]

Through the epigrammatic filter, we perceive in Catullus a complex playing of roles from Sappho's hymn. Catullus' male speaker reflects not only Sappho's feminine I, as subject of the prayer and victim of sufferings in his heart, but also the beloved of the Greek ode, since he himself causes his mistress erotic pain. The Catullan *puella* recasts that beloved girl, as source of the speaker's trouble, and also Sappho's I, as suffering heavy effects of passion, and even Aphrodite, as mistress of the sparrow and

[23] Cf. Nisbet (1978), and Harrison and Heyworth (1998).
[24] Ingleheart (2003, p. 557) and Brenk (1980, p. 713).

main object of the poem's description and idealization (Catull. 2.2–8); in particular, her 'bright-shining' aspect (*nitenti*, Catull. 2.5) associates her with a goddess. Finally, the sparrow replaces Aphrodite as addressee of the prayer and as giver of consolation. The perception of Sappho in Catullus 2 may be strengthened with the already-cited possibility of a Sapphic intertext from a wedding song in 2b, be it the conclusion of the same poem or a fragment of the next. This Sapphic network is confirmed by further echoes of Sappho's 'Ode to Aphrodite', as well as of other poems of hers, in Catullus 3. I turn to that second *passer*-poem, before proposing a Sapphic intertextual reading of the diptych.

Catullus 3 is no hymn, but an *epicedion*, a lament on the death of the sparrow. However, it begins with an invocation to Venuses and Cupids (*Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque*, Catull. 3.1), which stresses the bird's association with the goddess of love; this invocation could even be a pun on Sappho's address to Aphrodite, elevating the bird as the preceding poem degraded the hymn form. There are analogies in the description. Catullus' *bellus passer* (Catull. 3.15) recalls Sappho's 'beautiful sparrows' (*κάλοι . . . στροῦθοι*, Sappho 1.9–10 Voigt). However different they are, the birds of Sappho and Catullus move their wings in a rapid and circular way: *πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ'* (Sappho 1.11 Voigt, 'whirring fast-beating wings'); *circumsiliens modo huc modo illuc* | . . . *usque* (Catull. 3.9–10, 'hopping [around] now here, now there'). They also go on a dark descent in both poems: from heaven to earth in Sappho, where Aphrodite, 'left [her] father's golden house' (*πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα* | *χρύσιον*, Sappho 1.7–8 Voigt), is brought by the sparrows 'over the dark earth . . . down the sky through midair' (*περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας* | . . . *ἀπ' ὠράνω αἴθε-* | *ρος διὰ μέσσω*, Sappho 1.10–12 Voigt); from earth to Underworld in Catullus, whose *passer* formerly 'would chirp constantly to the mistress alone' (*ad solam dominam usque pipiabat*, Catull. 3.10) and 'now . . . goes along a shady path to that place from which they say nobody returns' (*qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum* | *illuc, unde negant redire quemquam*, Catull. 3.11–12).[25]

That is not all. As in Catullus 2b we also find contrasting Sapphic echoes in poem 3 that may reorient our reading. I first return to the

[25] Brenk (1980, p. 714); he also notes (p. 709, without citing his predecessor on the point, Ferguson 1956, p. 52), the parallel of Catull. 3.6–7 (*nam mellitus erat suamque norat* | *ipsam tam bene quam puella matrem*) with a line by a Lesbian poet (*inc. auct.* fr. 25 Voigt, *ὡς δὲ πάις πεδὰ μάτερα πεπτερύγωμαι*).

incipit: *Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque* | *et quantum est hominum uenustiorum:* | *passer mortuus est meae puellae,* | *passer, deliciae meae puellae* (Catull. 3.1–2, 'Mourn, O Venuses and Cupids and all you men of finer feeling! The sparrow of my girl is dead, the sparrow, darling of my girl'). It has interestingly been observed that this exhortation to mourning for the lovely sparrow's death, addressed to a group of gods and mortals associated with Venus, recalls Sappho's choral dialogue in which girls announce to Aphrodite the death of lovely Adonis and she orders them ritual lament: *κατθνάσκει, Κυθέρη', ἄβρος Ἄδωνις· τί κε θεῖμεν*; | *καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε χίτωνας* (Sappho fr. 140 Voigt, '"Delicate Adonis is dying, Cytherea, what should we do?" "Strike yourselves, maidens, and tear your garments"').[26] The suggested presence of these lines, linked with a prenuptial ritual, can be strengthened by a last echo: the sparrow's one-way descent (*qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum* | *illuc, unde negant redire quemquam*, Catull. 3.11–12), evokes another dialogue of Sappho's in which a girl asks her virginity where it is going as it leaves her, and gets as an answer that it will never return: *παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποισ' ἀ<π>οίχηι*; | — *†οὐκέτι ἤξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι ἤξω†* (Sappho fr. 114 Voigt, '"Virginity, virginity, where are you gone, leaving me behind?" "No longer will I come to you, no longer will I come"').

These echoes seem on the one side to confirm the plausibility of an obscene reading, but on the other to orient it in another direction than the usually alleged allegory of impotence.[27] The idea of loss of virginity, which is already present in Catullus 2b, suggests that the sparrow's descent—to the 'evil shades of Orcus, who eat up all pretty things' (*malae tenebrae* | *Orci, quae omnia bella deuoratis*, Catull. 3.13–14)—might be understood as a metaphor of loss of innocence through sexuality. It would then represent the end of a virginal love ideal in a way similar to the Sapphic nuptial comparison of poem 11. This would add a level of complexity to the diptych's interpretation, which should not be reduced to a single and simple meaning. The Sapphic reading that I propose here—which of course does not exclude other ones—implies

[26] Genovese (1974, p. 124), Brenk (1980, p. 709); the proximity with the lament of Adonis seems underlined by a resonance in Ovid's parrot-poem *Am.* 2.6.1–6, cited in another connection by Brenk (1980, p. 714). For more on the Adonia and Sappho, see Reed (1995).

[27] Cf. Giangrande (1975).

a complex dynamics of degradation and idealization, and vice versa: degradation of the hymn form, addressed not to a deity, but to a courtesan's pet that may even be seen as an obscene allegory; divinization of the *puella* with her sparrow, and idealization of the virginal love model that they also may represent; defloration and shattering of this ideal.

As we have seen, the diptych of Catullus 2 and 3 introduces at once Sappho and the *puella* in the collection. It echoes the 'Ode to Aphrodite' probably for its opening position in Sappho's Alexandrian edition, and presents two epigrammatic variations of it, centred not on the divine, but on the human sphere; these two poems on a sparrow's life and death, which are parallel to epigrams on courtesans' pets in the epigrammatic literary tradition, idealize the erotic relationship and prefigure the end of that ideal. In the next diptych of the initial group, the kiss-poems 5 and 7, the *puella* is named *Lesbia*, a courtesan's name that suggests—among other connotations—Sappho's role as an erotic model for her.[28] But no clear echoes in Catullus 5 and 7 confirm Sappho's being also a poetic model.[29] This confirmation will come, as we have seen, in poem 11, the second poem of break-up, in Sapphics with a nuptial Sapphic coda. But in the meantime, Catullus 8, the first poem of that diptych, also suggests echoes of Sappho's 'Ode to Aphrodite'.

Advising Oneself: Catullus 8 and (Again) Sappho 1

Just after the second kiss-poem, Catullus 8 introduces a sharp contrast, being the first of two poems of break-up. As Lesbia's name disappears, Sapphic echoes reappear: before the combination of Sappho's erotic and nuptial voices in Catullus 11, this poem responds to the *passer*-diptych by echoing again the 'Ode to Aphrodite'. Few scholars have studied echoes of Sappho's hymn in Catullus 8.[30] However, these might seem more striking than in poems 2 and 3. No goddess and no sparrow this

[28] For the traditionally acknowledged connotations of Lesbia's name, see Gram, Chapter 5.

[29] A possible hint at Sappho in Catull. 5 may appear retrospectively from poem 8; see end of next section.

[30] It was partially signalled long ago by Heidel (1900, pp. xli–xliii), but never investigated thoroughly; Ferguson (1956, p. 34) notes only one parallel (Catull. 8.10 ~ Sappho 1.21 Voigt; already Ellis 1889, p. 27).

time, but an exhortation to 'Catullus' himself that under many aspects recasts—and reorients—Aphrodite's address to 'Sappho' in poem 1.

As an argument for the prayer, the long middle part of the 'Ode to Aphrodite' (Sappho 1.5–24) narrates a former intervention of the goddess and reports—first indirectly, then directly—her discourse to the female speaker. In this reported speech, the goddess in particular asks her what she wants *κὤττι . . . μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι* ('what [she] want[s] to happen most of all', Sappho 1.17 Voigt) and promises that the beloved shall soon love 'even unwilling' (*κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα*, Sappho 1.24 Voigt), just before the speaker's final prayer for the fulfilment of her heart's desires: *ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι | θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον* (Sappho 1.26–7 Voigt, 'all my heart longs to accomplish, accomplish'). In Catullus 8, there is also a strong presence of this idea of wanting (or not: forms of *uolo/nolo*). In the past, speaking to 'Catullus', 'you wanted to and the girl did not say no' (*tu uolebas nec puella nolebat*, Catull. 8.7). 'Now she says no; say no also, you weakling': *nunc iam illa non uolt: tu quoque inpotens noli* (Catull. 8.9). In the future, speaking to the girl, 'Catullus' will not look for her nor ask her 'against [her] will' (*inuitam*, Catull. 8.13). If we compare both poems, the words are similar, but the message is different. In Sappho 1, Aphrodite assures 'Sappho' that what she wants shall happen even against the girl's will, and this past promise motivates the speaker's present prayer for the end of her pains and the accomplishment of her desires. By contrast, the speaker of Catullus 8 exhorts 'Catullus' not to desire any more and assures the girl that she will not be asked against her will; she will suffer erotic pains in the future, but from lack of interest: *at tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla* (Catull. 8.14, 'But you will be hurt when you are asked by nobody').

There is more. When the speaker exhorts 'Catullus' not to 'chase after one who flees' (*nec quae fugit sectare*, Catull. 8.10), he says the exact opposite of Sappho's Aphrodite, who consoles 'Sappho' about the girl promising that: 'if she flees, soon she will pursue. If she refuses gifts, rather will she give them. If she does not love, soon she will love, even unwilling' (*καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει, | αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει, | αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει*, Sappho 1.21–4 Voigt). This stanza about the girl's future, with three parallel, bipartite conditional lines, is formally echoed by Catullus' similar section about the *puella*'s future with three parallel interrogative lines made of two questions each: *quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella? | quem nunc amabis? cuius esse*

diceris? | quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis? (Catull. 3.16–18, 'Who will approach you? To whom will you seem pretty? Whom will you love? Whose girl will you be said to be? Whom will you kiss? Whose lips will you bite?'). Finally, the complex enunciative structure of Sappho's poem is largely matched and reversed by Catullus. Sappho 1 first addresses Aphrodite, who then becomes the subject of a narrative and of an embedded discourse addressing 'Sappho' herself (ὤ | *Ψάπφ'*, Sappho 1.19–20 Voigt), and finally returns to the address to the goddess. On its side, Catullus 8 is framed by apostrophes to 'Catullus' himself in the first and last lines: *Miser Catulle* (Catull. 8.1, 'Love-sick Catullus'); *at tu, Catulle* (Catull. 8.19, 'But you, Catullus'). It is as if Catullus had isolated and amplified Sappho's address to herself through the goddess's speech, replacing the prayer to the love goddess by an address to himself.[31]

Catullus 8 connects to the diptych of 5 and 7 only by using the image of suns to evoke the bright past: *fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles* (Catull. 8.3, 'Once beautiful suns shone on you') reflects *soles occidere et redire possunt* (Catull. 5.4, 'suns can set and return again'), maybe with a hint at Sappho's link between love and the sun: *καί μοι | τὸ λάμπρον ἔρως τὠελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε* (Sappho fr. 58.25–6,[32] 'and this to me—the brilliance and beauty of the sun—desire has allotted'). But it responds to Catullus 2–3 by echoing again Sappho's 'Ode to Aphrodite' (but without divine elements) and by marking the end of the idealization, already prefigured there by the sparrow's death. It also prepares for the second part of the break-up diptych, Catullus 11 and its Sapphic anti-nuptial closure. The *puella*-poems of the initial sequence of the collection thus form a cycle in which Sappho's presence is well distributed, with contrasted echoes of her two voices (especially of the Alexandrian edition's opening poem) in the first and last of the three diptychs, and with Lesbia's name in the central one. For the last part of my argument, I now turn to the poems of friendship, which show a broader function of the Sapphic echoes in Catullus' collection.

[31] We could even divide Catullus 8 in seven almost regular units (only the first and the last two sections would not have three lines, but respectively two, four, and one), corresponding to the seven stanzas of Sappho 1, with a similar positive reminder of the past after the first invocation, and a parallel discursive shift (change of addressee and evocation of the future) seven lines before the last exhortation.

[32] The relationship between these lines and fr. 58 has been complicated by the 2004 publication of the Cologne Sappho, cf. Hammerstaedt (2009).

Love and Friendship in Dialogue: Catullus 6 and Sappho fr. 137 Voigt

The last Lesbia-poem in our sequence, Catullus 11, is addressed to 'Furius and Aurelius, companions of Catullus' (*Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli*, Catull. 11.1). In this poem of break-up in Sapphics, 'Catullus' ironically gives to two 'friends', who reappear in the following poems in a negative light, the extreme mission of announcing the end of his love to the *puella*. We then find in a poem of friendship, Catullus 13, an evocation of the *puella* that may have a Sapphic ring. If Fabullus brings with himself everything for dinner, 'Catullus' 'will give [him] a perfume which the Venuses and Cupids gave to [his] girl' (*nam unguentum dabo quod meae puellae | donarunt Veneres Cupidinesque*, Catull. 13.11–12). Ross Kilpatrick suggested connecting this perfume with the legend according to which Venus gave Phaon an unguent that incited women to love him, and that brought Sappho to suicide.[33] These poems intertwine the themes of love and friendship, but Sappho, if we accept to perceive her presence, is still on the side of love.

Now, there are two intriguing cases in our sequence in which Sapphic echoes do not have anything to do with the *puella*, but are linked with friends. In Catullus 12 (between poems 11 and 13), the speaker blames his friend Asinius from Marruvium for stealing, and summons him to send back his precious napkins, a gift of his friends Fabullus and Veranius from Hiberia; Henry Spelman has recently proposed a connection

[33] Kilpatrick (1998): *Menander et Turpilius comici a Phaone Lesbio id templum conditum dicunt. qui cum esset nauicularius, solitus a Lesbo in continentem proximos quosque mercede transuehere, Venerem mutatam in anuis formam gratis transuexit: quapropter ab ea donatus unguenti alabastro, cum se indies inditum ungueret, feminas in sui amorem trahebat, in quis fuit una, quae de monte Leucate, cum potiri eius nequiret, abiecisse se dicitur: unde nunc auctorare se quotannis solent qui de eo monte iaciantur in pelagus* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.279, 'The comic poets Menander and Turpilius say that this temple [of Venus at Leucas] was founded by Phaon of Lesbos. As a ferryman, he used to transport all his nearest relatives against payment from Lesbos to the continent. But as Venus had taken the appearance of an old woman, he let her cross for free. For that, he received from her a small vase of perfume. Applying the perfume every day on himself, he attracted the women to love him. One of these, they say, unable to have him, threw herself from Mount Leucas. This is the story that people regularly claim as a justification to throw themselves into the sea from this promontory', my translation). If we accept the link, the *puella* would again be cast in the erotic role of the man, here Phaon, and the speaker implicitly in the feminine one of Sappho, as notes Holzberg (2002a, pp. 94–5). Servius clearly knows Sappho, both as a lyric poet, and as a legendary, lovesick jumper from the cliffs of Leucas, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 391.

with the napkins of Sappho fr. 101 Voigt, also sent from a distant place as a precious gift and a reminder of a friend.[34] Such an echo suggests Sappho's significance as a model for Catullus not only in love poetry, but also in friendship, and establishes an analogy between Sappho's feminine group and Catullus' circle of male friends.

In order to specify and nuance this analogy, I present finally a last—and still unnoticed—Sapphic echo in the initial sequence of Catullus' collection. It occurs between the two kiss-poems naming Lesbia (5 and 7), in the first poem of friendship, Catullus 6, which associates this theme with that of love about a friend's *ineptiae*:

Flaui, delicias tuas Catullo,
ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes,
uelles dicere nec tacere posses.
uerum nescio quid febriculosi
scorti diligis: hoc pudet fateri.
nam te non uiduas iacere noctes
nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat
sertis ac Syrio fragrans oliuo,
puluinusque peraeque et hic et ille
attritus, tremulique quassa lecti
argutatio inambulatioque.
†nam inista preualet† nihil tacere.
cur? non tam latera ecfututa pandas,
ni tu quid facias ineptiarum.
quare, quidquid habes boni malique,
dic nobis. uolo te ac tuos amores
ad caelum lepido uocare uersu.

Catull. 6

Flavius, you would want to tell Catullus of your darling if she were not unsophisticated and uncouth— you would not be able to keep quiet about her. You are in love with some hot little tart and are ashamed to admit it. For the fact that you are not lying through celibate nights is shouted out by your vainly mute bed, smelling of garlands and Syrian olive, and the pillow dented evenly on one side and the other and the shaken creaking of the rickety bed and its way of walking across the room. It is no use, no use at all keeping quiet about it. Why? You would not show such shagged out limbs if you were not doing some fooling about. So tell us whatever you have, good or bad. I want to summon you and your girlfriend to the heavens in charming poetry.

[34] Spelman (2016).

As far as I know, nobody has yet noted that the introduction and the conclusion of the poem are very near to the enigmatic dialogue we have in Sappho's fragment 137:[35]

θέλω τί τ' εἴπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει
αἴδως . . .
[αἰ δ' ἦχες ἔσλων ἴμερον ἢ κάλων
καὶ μή τί τ' εἴπην γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον,
αἴδως †κέν σε οὐκ† ἦχεν ὄππατ'
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες †περὶ τῶ δικαίω]

Sappho fr. 137 Voigt

I want to say something but shame prevents me . . . Yet if you had a desire for good or beautiful things and your tongue were not concocting some evil to say, shame would not hold down your eyes but rather you would speak about what is just.

In both poems, someone would speak (*uelles dicere*, Catull. 6.3; θέλω τί τ' εἴπην and ἀλλ' ἔλεγες, Sappho fr. 137.1 and 6 Voigt), but shame prevents it (*pudet fateri*, Catull. 6.5; κωλύει | αἴδως, Sappho fr. 137.1–2 Voigt). No dialogue in Catullus: there is only the reply to Flavius's ashamed silence, not its first expression by himself. Both replies contain a hypothetical clause with two adjectives related to the idea of beauty, positive in Sappho (αἰ δ' ἦχες ἔσλων ἴμερον ἢ κάλων, Sappho fr. 137.3 Voigt), with double negations in Catullus (*ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes* [*deliciae tuae*], Catull. 6.2), as in Sappho's second suggestion (καὶ μή τί . . . κάκον, Sappho fr. 137.4 Voigt). Body parts are important in both poems, but point in different directions. In Sappho, they reveal the first speaker's moral unease: his tongue mixes something harmful (γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον, Sappho fr. 137.4 Voigt; note the alliteration); his eyes are covered with shame (αἴδως . . . ἦχεν ὄππατ', Sappho fr. 137.5 Voigt). In Catullus, they show the addressee's erotic *ineptiae*: Flavius exposes his sides exhausted by sex (*latera ecfututa pandas*, Catull. 6.13); and the shaken bed, as a kind of extension of his body, proclaims his sexual activity (*nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat* | . . . *puluinusque peraeque et hic et illic* | *attritus, tremulique quassa lecti* | *argutatio inambulatioque*, Catull. 6.7–11; I stress also here the rich alliterative and imitative effects).

[35] On this fragment and Sappho's reception, see also Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 49, Thorsen, Chapter 13, p. 216, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 307.

The differences, as we see, are significant. Catullus' discourse is not moral, but erotic, as another lexical parallel shows: in Sappho, the first speaker's silencing shame is interpreted by the second as caused by a desire (ἴμερον), which remains abstract and undefined; in Catullus, the word for Flavius' desire (*delicias*, Catull. 6.1) has a concrete referent, 'some feverish whore' (*uerum nescio quid febriculosi | scorti diligis*, Catull. 6.4–5). Beauty is an ethical concept in Sappho, as shown by the two adjectives 'good or beautiful' (ἔσλων . . . ἢ κάλων, Sappho fr. 137.3 Voigt) and the contrast with 'not evil' in the next line (μή . . . κάκον, Sappho fr. 137.4 Voigt).[36] In Catullus, it is clearly erotic, as both adjectives indicate charm and elegance (*illepidae atque inelegantes*). However, the ethical aspect is not absent from his poem: it is in the end explicitly termed indifferent by the speaker, who exhorts Flavius to tell what he has, good or bad (*quidquid habes boni malique | dic nobis*, Catull. 6.15–16). Compared with Sappho, this inverts not only the ethical principles (ἔσλων . . . ἢ κάλων, . . . μή . . . κάκον), but also the fact that the first speaker, with those principles in mind, would say something just (ἀλλ' ἔλεγες †περὶ τὠ δικαίω†, Sappho fr. 137.6 Voigt). In Sappho, shame prevents speaking and acting. In Catullus, it comes after acting, and does not even make Flavius wholly silent: his 'vainly mute bed' shouts out what he does (*nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat*, Catull. 6.7), and for himself 'it is no use . . . keeping quiet about it' (*ualet nihil tacere*, Catull. 6.12).[37] The voice of poem 6 is no longer the moralistic one attributed to 'Sappho' in the fragment cited by Aristotle, but a more distant one—the speaker is concerned with Flavius' love only as a friend and poet, not personally—lascivious and voyeuristic.

Most interesting are the formal and contextual aspects. Sappho's dialogue, the only sure example of Alcaics in her fragments, is transmitted by Aristotle, who presents it as Sappho's reply to a declaration of Alcaeus; this scenario is hardly credible—already the Byzantine scholiast

[36] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 30–4 and Elisei, Chapter 12, p. 241–2.

[37] Catull. 6.12 presents a difficult *crux*: †*nam inista* [O, *ni ista* GR] *preualet*† *nihil tacere*. I have wondered if Sappho's text could help to solve it: περὶ τὠ δικαίω could suggest *iusta* or *iniusta*, but *nam iniusta ipsa ualet nihil tacere* ('for it has no sense to keep silent even on incorrect things') does not convince for the use of *ipsa* and precisely for the moral connotation of *iniusta* (the correction *nam nil stupra ualet* has rightly been criticized for the same reason). For the logic, I would prefer a second person (*nam tu ista ipse uales nihil tacere* Owen, or *nam mi* . . . , or *namque* . . .): not only Flavius' bed is *nequiquam tacitum* (7), but he is himself unable to hide it.

Stephanus doubted the identification of the speakers—but very interesting for the reception of Sappho, because it is probably linked with the contexts of the male *symposia* and of the comedy of classical Athens, where Sappho was an important figure and was credited with many lovers, especially poets, naturally including her Lesbian contemporary Alcaeus.[38] As Gregory Nagy points out, the notional context in which the song 'is representing Sappho in the act of responding to him' is the male *symposion* of Alcaeus.[39] The actual form of this Sapphic fragment is thus impossible to separate from its reception, since it implies the parallel with Alcaeus and the context of the *symposion*. Now, Catullus 6 continues this strand of reception: the speaker addresses a friend by recasting the reply of 'Sappho' (according to Aristotle) with reminiscences of the words of 'Alcaeus'. Catullus thus assimilates his context(s)—his own social context, the fictional ones of his poems, and the performance and reading contexts of his poetry book(s)—with a hybrid of Sappho's and Alcaeus' groups of *hetairai* and *hetairoi*, a kind of poetic *symposion* of friends and fellow literates (an audience that is also a model for his broader readership), and questions the gendered role models linked with the performance of Lesbian poetry by adopting a quasi-Sapphic voice in a quasi-Alcaic context.

With this analysis, I hope to have shown that Sappho is no simple model for Catullus. In her reception in general, she has not only two faces, as an ideal poet and a dissolute lover, but also two voices, as author of erotic poems and wedding songs. In Catullus, the complex roles emerging from her poetry—human/divine, male/female, lover/beloved, speaker/addressee—are fragmented and distributed, with frequent reversals, among different figures. Catullus' Sappho speaks no longer within the feminine group on Lesbos, even though there may be some analogies with his group of male friends: her poetry—in connection with Alcaeus'—has gone through the Athenian *symposia* (and comedy, and biography), and has been organized in an Alexandrian collection of written poems. These different contexts are all determining for Sappho's reception in a discourse with individual and social aspects, an epigrammatic book of personal poetry.

[38] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 36 for these lovers and how they may interpreted.

[39] Nagy (2007, pp. 220–1, 225–6, and 232–3): 'a sympotic role for Sappho could not have been performed by Sappho even in the time of Sappho. Rather, such a role would be played out by men or by boys—or perhaps by women of questionable character.'

7

Shades of Sappho in Vergil

Stephen Harrison

Introduction

The standard surveys of Vergilian scholarly bibliography suggest that Sappho offered little to the many investigators of Vergil's famously dense intertextuality before 2003.[1] The only previous attempt of note to bring Sappho into Vergilian criticism before that date was Francis Cairns' *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), whose chapter on 'Lavinia and the Lyric Tradition'[2] suggests connections of Lavinia's virginal characterization with the tradition of *partheneia*, and proposes without further argument that Lavinia's well-known blush at *Aeneid* 12.67–9 recalls the famous catalogue of symptoms of love in Sappho fr. 31.[3] This parallel is further confirmed by specific lexical investigation: Sappho's λέπτον | δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν (Sappho fr. 31.9–10 Voigt, 'a fine fire has at once run under my skin') surely underlies Vergil's *cui plurimus ignem* | *subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit* (*Aeneid* 12.65–6, 'a mighty blush kindled flame in her and ran across her heated face'), where *ignem* picks up πῦρ and ὐπαδεδρόμακεν is recalled in both the prefix of *subiecit* and the sense of *cucurrit*.[4] Since 2003, several articles have further pursued Sapphic colour in Vergil—Olivier Thévenaz in a piece of 2004

[1] There are no items listed on Sapphic intertextuality in Vergil in Suerbaum (1980a), Suerbaum (1980b), Briggs (1981), Holzberg (2015a) or Holzberg (2015b); in Holzberg (2014) the only items are Acosta-Hughes (2008), Fiorentini (2007), and Lidov (2004), to which add Hall (2011).

[2] Cairns (1989, pp. 151–76).

[3] Cairns (1989, pp. 154).

[4] This is not mentioned by any Vergilian commentator or in the excelllent analysis of the blush in Lyne (1983).

has traced some important echoes of Sappho's epithalamial poetry in the *Aeneid* (see further p. 142 below),[5] Ben Acosta-Hughes (2008) has suggested a Sapphic link at *Aeneid* 6.458, while Leonardo Fiorentini (2007) has shown that some famous similes in *Aeneid* 4 owe something to Sappho fr. 47 Voigt (see further p. 145 below)[6]—but possible connections in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* can also be made as well as further links in the *Aeneid* itself. My purpose here is to show that the presence of Sappho can be detected in all Vergil's works, and to argue that her poetry is associated there not only with the topics of marriage and love but also with the Evening Star and with Sappho's particular homoerotic sensibility.

Sapphic Epithalamia: Hexameters in Hexameters

It is perhaps unsurprising that the Sapphic fragments of which we find most trace in Vergil's wholly hexameter works are Sappho's epithalamial hexameters. As we shall see, these are echoed throughout the Vergilian oeuvre. I begin with some examples from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, which are not noted by modern editors.

> *Ἔσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αὔως*
> *φέρηις ὄιν, φέρηις αἶγα, φέρηις ἄπυ μάτερι παῖδα.*
>
> Sappho fr. 104a Campbell

> Hesperus, bringing back everything that shining Dawn scattered, you bring back the sheep, the goat, you bring back the child to its mother.

Here, despite the evident corruption of the second line,[7] we seem to have a pair of hexameters referring to Hesperus (the evening star) bringing the flocks home; this is the earliest appearance of this idea in classical

[5] Thévenaz (2004). I am most grateful to Olivier Thévenaz for drawing my attention to both these last two pieces.

[6] Fiorentini (2007).

[7] Furthermore, it is surely a corrupt hexameter matching the first line, especially given fr.105a and 105b below, which have hexameters throughout. The textual problem must lie in the first half of the line as the second half is perfectly dactylic. I suspect one of the repeated verbs is an intrusion, and Bergk's *ἄπυ* (adopted by most editors) seems problematic too. Perhaps the original line contained a reference to a third herd-animal, e.g. cattle (this might be suggested by Verg. *G.* 4.435, see below).

literature. This picturesque pastoral mode of describing evening seems to be picked up in the final lines of *Eclogue* 6:

> cogere donec **ouis** stabulis numerumque **referre**
> iussit et inuito processit **Vesper** Olympo.
>
> Verg. *Ecl.* 6.85–6

> . . . till Vesper gave the word to fold the flocks and tell their tale, as he set forth over an unwilling sky.

Here we find again the sheep-gathering function of Hesperus, and it is perhaps not fanciful to see the phrase *numerumque referre* as picking up the repeated uses of φέρηις in Sappho's original. Several further examples of the topic of Hesperus (Vesper, Evening Star, star of eve) bringing both the end of the day and the return to the fold can be found in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

At *ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae* (*Ecl.* 10.77, 'get home, my full-fed goats, get home—the Evening Star draws on') both the return theme and the goat mentioned by Sappho is recalled, while at *Vesper ubi e pastu uitulos ad tecta reducit* (*G.* 4.435, 'when Vesper brings the steers home from pasture'), the return theme is combined with another animal which might conceivably have occurred in the Sapphic original.[8] A final passage from the *Georgics* shows that this Sapphic idea of the Evening Star shepherding flocks home is so well established in Vergil that it can be used parodically of the self-return of bees to the hive: *Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis* | *admonuit* (*G.* 4.186–7, 'when the star of eve has warned them to withdraw from their pasture in the fields').

The likelihood that Sappho is laid under contribution in these passages is increased by the consideration that Theocritus' pastoral poems never refer to the Evening Star bringing the sheep or goats home. The passages which most nearly convey this idea are similarly in Hellenistic poetry, but both lack a crucial element available in Sappho. Both Callimachus and Apollonius mention the ἀστήρ αὔλιος, the homing-star, but neither identifies it formally as Hesperus and both mention the relief it brings to ploughing oxen rather than its function in fetching animals home from pasture (Callim. *Aet.* fr. 177.5–6, Ap. Rhod. 4.1629–30). It seems likely, then, that the sentimental image of

[8] See n. 7. Furthermore, as Donncha O'Rourke observes in private communication, 'in support of a Sapphic background at *G.* 4.435, it might also be noted that *ad tecta reducit* is not explained by the more imminent model at Hom. *Od.* 4.411–13 and 4.450–1.'

the flocks returning home under the kindly supervision of the Evening Star was Sapphic in origin and was felt as such by later poets. It is perhaps not accidental that the clearest examples of this topic occur at the end of *Eclogues* 6 and 10, two poems which engage closely with erotic topics and erotic genres outside pastoral: its original in the erotic Sappho is thus highly appropriate.

One key issue in Vergilian use of Sapphic epithalamial hexameters is that of direct or indirect imitation, for in several important cases apparent Sapphic material in Vergil can be paralleled in the work of Catullus, especially in the hexameter Catullus 62, which might indeed be a reworking of a particular hexameter epithalamium of Sappho.[9] Is Vergil using Sappho directly or simply using Catullus' Sapphic imitations, or perhaps alluding to both? Let us consider a few examples:

οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔσδωι,
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες·
οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι.

Sappho fr.105a Voigt

As the sweet-apple reddens on the bough top, on the top of the topmost bough; the apple-gatherers have forgotten it—no they have not forgotten it entirely, but they could not reach it.

The idea is clearly that the bride while still a virgin is like fruit high on a tree, beyond the reach of pickers, as brought out by Catullus' imitation:

Vt flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo conuolsus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber;
multi illum pueri, multae optauere puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optauere puellae:
sic uirgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
nec pueris iucunda manet, nec cara puellis.[10]

Catull. 62.39–47

As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden, unknown to the cattle, torn up by no plough, which the winds caress, the sun strengthens, the shower draws forth, many boys, many girls, desire it; when the same flower fades, nipped by a

[9] See Courtney (1985). [10] See also Thévenaz, Chapter 6, p. 122, n. 12.

> sharp nail, no boys, no girls desire it: so a maiden, while she remains untouched, the while is she dear to her own; when she has lost her chaste flower with sullied body, she remains neither lovely to boys nor dear to girls.

The Sapphic image of fruit protected at the top of the tree is matched by Catullus' image of the flower protected in the garden. Both passages seem to be picked up in *Eclogue* 8, similarly erotic in context, voicing the longing of Polyphemus for Galatea:

> saepibus in nostris paruam te roscida mala
> (dux ego uester eram) uidi cum matre legentem;
> alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus;
> iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos.
>
> Verg. *Ecl.* 8.37–40

> Within our garden hedge I saw you—I was guide for both—a little child with your mother, gathering dewy apples. My eleventh year ended, the next had just greeted me; from the ground I could now reach the frail boughs. In the moment I saw you I lost my heart, and a fatal frenzy swept me away.

Here we find the Sapphic apple in the Catullan garden with a Sapphic allusion to the branches of the tree; this time the young Polyphemus as assistant to the pickers can touch the lowest branches, a neat variation on the incapacity of the Sapphic pickers to reach the highest boughs. The usual model cited for the Vergilian passage is Theocritus *Idyll* 11.25–7, but that simply has Galatea gathering hyacinths on the hill, with no tree or fruit, and it seems clear that both these latter elements derive from Sappho. There may even be a subtle pun in the link between Vergil's *roscida mala*, 'dewy apples', and Sappho's *γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται*, 'sweet fruit reddens': the '*rōs*'—root of *roscidus* could play on *rŏseus*, 'rosy red', suggesting the red fruit colour implied by *ἐρεύθεται*. This kind of translingual word-play is a typical learned element in the *Eclogues*: in the same eclogue we find *omnia uel medium fiat mare*, (Verg. *Ecl.* 8.58, 'may all become mid-sea'), which has been plausibly interpreted as punning on the original Theocritean *πάντα δ' ἔναλλα γένοιτο* (Theoc. *Id.* 1.134, 'may all be turned topsy-turvy'), playing on the resemblance of *ἔναλλα* to *ἐνάλια*, 'in the sea'.[11]

As already noted, none of these potential Sapphic allusions in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are suggested in modern scholarship. We are better off with the allusions to Sappho's hexameter epithalamia in the *Aeneid*,

[11] As argued by Williams (1979, p. 124).

due to Thévenaz's recent treatment, which I gladly make use of here, adding some further material.[12]

> οἵαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες
> πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος . . .
>
> Sappho fr. 105b Voigt

> Like the hyacinth which shepherds tread underfoot in the mountains, and on the ground the purple flower . . .

As often noted, versions of this simile are employed three times by Catullus: *nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem | qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati | ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam | tactus aratro est* (Catull. 11.21–4, 'And let her not look to find my love, as before; my love, which by her fault has dropped, like a flower on the meadow's edge, when it has been touched by the plough passing by')[13] and *talis in uario solet | diuitis domini hortulo | stare flos hyacinthinus* (Catull. 61.87–9, 'So in the gay garden of a rich owner stands a hyacinth flower')[14] as well as Catullus 62.39–47, already cited above.

The last two of these belong to epithalamial poems and provide as in Sappho a point of comparison for the bride, while the first belongs to a poem of erotic rejection which has echoes of Roman divorce and in which elements associated with marriage thus have an appropriate irony.[15]

Both Sapphic and Catullan echoes are clearly found in the two appearances of this image in the *Aeneid*; both as has been noted are applied to young men who die young in battle and will tragically not reach marriage.[16] In both cases a Sapphic simile is reworked in a rather different epic context of death, showing that the peaceful world of Sappho's passionate lyric is to be contrasted with the harsher and deadlier world of epic battle, arguably anticipated by her own poetic engagement in epic imagery.[17] The first is at the death of Euryalus:

> purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro
> languescit moriens, lassoue papauera collo
> demisere caput pluuia cum forte grauantur.
>
> Verg. *Aen.* 9.435–7

[12] Thévenaz (2004). [13] See also Thévenaz, Chapter 6, p. 122.
[14] See Thévenaz, Chapter 6, p. 122. [15] Mayer (1983).
[16] Argued by both Fowler (1989) and Thévenaz (2004).
[17] Cf. Rissman (1983).

> Like a purple flower withers and dies when sliced through by the plough, or poppies with languid neck dip their heads when they happen to be weighed down by rain.

Here it is clear that *purpureus . . . flos* is derived from Sappho (fr. 105b.2, Voigt, πόρφυρον ἄνθος)[18] while *succisus aratro* clearly looks to *tactus aratro* at Catullus 11.24. The epithalamial context of both poems is relevant here: not only (as already noted) does Euryalus perish tragically before achieving marriage, but as the handsome and younger *eromenos* in his relationship with his *erastes*, Nisus, he is the homoerotic equivalent of the bride in his beauty and vulnerability, the original point of the flower-comparison. This fits the narrative focalization here: in context the reader experiences the death of Euryalus through the eyes of his lover Nisus, whose words and actions immediately precede and follow the flower-simile for Euryalus' death.

The second example is a description of the corpse of Pallas:

> qualem uirgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis uiolae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
> non iam mater alit tellus uirisque ministrat.
>
> Verg. *Aen.* 11.68–71

> Just like a flower of a soft violet or a languid hyacinth, harvested by a virgin's thumb, whose brightness and beauty has not yet left it, but mother earth no longer nourishes it or provides it with strength.

Here the harvesting hand recalls Catullus 62.43 *carptus . . . ungui* and *flos . . . hyacinthi* looks to Catullus 61.89 *flos hyacinthinus*, but several formal elements also look back to Sappho's hexameters: the initial position of *qualem* picks up Sappho fr. 105a.1, οἷον and fr. 105b.1 οἵαν, while the position of *florem* and *hyacinthi* at the end of the hexameter recalls Sappho fr. 105b.2 Voigt, ἄνθος and fr.105b.1 Voigt, ὐάκινθον. The violets may also be a Sapphic element, recalling the violet garlands worn by Sappho in an erotic context at Sappho fr. 94.12 Voigt.[19] Once more, there are possibilities for homoerotic perspective: one focalizer of this scene could be Aeneas, organizing Pallas' funeral, who has been argued to have homoerotic feelings towards Pallas as well as acting as his

[18] As noted by Fowler (1989, p. 189) as well as Thévenaz (2004, p. 69).

[19] For further reflections on Sappho fr. 94 in the context of her Roman reception, see Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 51 and Elisei, Chapter 12, pp. 243–4.

substitute father,[20] and the focalization of the poet-narrator, who has celebrated the homoerotic relationship of Nisus and Euryalus in *Aeneid* 9.446–9, might also be in play here.

Don Fowler has argued that these Catullan/Sapphic references to the destruction of flowers in the death of young warriors in the *Aeneid* represent those deaths emotively as a form of symbolic defloration.[21] Olivier Thévenaz has joined him in stressing the element of pathos in deploying imagery from Sapphic epithalamia for the deaths of young and immature warriors who are thus excluded from the future status of marriage. These are important ideas, but I would want to add that for Euryalus and perhaps Pallas Sapphic echoes add a homoerotic perspective: like the fair brides of Sappho, the beautiful young men of the *Aeneid* present potential attractions for their own sex.

Aeneas and Sapphic Love-Symptoms

At *Aeneid* 4.441–9 Aeneas is implored by a tearful Anna not to leave Carthage and Dido but stays firm in his intention to depart, a moment illustrated by one of Vergil's most famous similes:

> ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum
> Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
> eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
> consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
> ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum uertice ad auras
> aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
> haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc uocibus heros
> tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
> mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.

> And just as the Alpine north winds vie with each other to tear up a mighty oak with long-seasoned timber with their blasts, now on this side, now on that; there is a whistling, and the leaves from on high scatter the ground as the trunk is shaken; the tree itself sticks fast to the rocks and stretches as high with its head to the breezes of heaven as it stretches low with its root to Tartarus: not otherwise was the hero buffeted on this and that side by cries, and felt concern in his mighty heart: his mind remains unmoved, the tears flow to no avail.

[20] Putnam (1985, p. 12). [21] Fowler (1989).

Leonardo Fiorentini, in a recent detailed analysis which considers all possible extant models for the image,[22] persuasively concludes that its key feature, the comparison of the human heart under the pressures of love to an oak-tree beset by winds, derives from Sappho: *Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ <μοι> | φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων* (Sappho, fr. 47 Voigt, 'love shook my heart, like the wind falling on oak trees on the mountain'). Here I want to add two considerations to this convincing intertextual point: first, that the way in which Sappho is here quarried for the psychology of love is a key mode in which her poetry is used in Rome, and second, the fact that this lyric/erotic yielding of Sappho to love is resisted by Vergil's epic text.

First, that Sappho is a prime source for the psychology of love for the Roman poets of the first century BC seems undeniable. Catullus' famous version in 51.9–12 of the erotic symptoms of Sappho fr. 31.5–16 (involuntary silence, hot flushes, tinnitus, and vision problems) forms the base for Horace's parodic list of signs of jealousy in the first book of his *Odes*:

> tum nec mens mihi nec color
> certa sede manet, umor et in genas
> furtim labitur, arguens
> quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.5–8

Then neither my mind nor my colour can stay fixed, and moisture slides secretly across my cheeks, proving how slow-burning are the fires by which I am being cooked internally.

Horace reworks the same theme in the fourth book of his *Odes*:

> sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
> manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
> cur facunda parum decoro
> inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.33–6[23]

But why, Ligurinus, why does an occasional tear flow across my cheeks? Why does my tongue, failing in fluency, fall into unsuitable silence as I speak?

[22] Fiorentini (2007).
[23] For Horaces *Odes* 4.1, see also Hunter, Chapter 8.

Vergil's passage, probably composed between these two Horatian passages, joins and expands this tradition of Sapphic love-symptoms.[24]

Second, in all the lyric passages cited in the last paragraph, the poet-narrator clearly represents himself as yielding (however involuntarily) to the symptoms of love's onset. In the simile from the *Aeneid*, however, it is clear that Aeneas does not give in to his passions, though it is also clear that he feels their effect (*magno persentit pectore curas*); the tears at the end of the simile, though the Latin is splendidly ambiguous, seem to be those of Anna rather than of an Aeneas revealing his passion. Throughout the end of the Dido-episode after Mercury's visit, Aeneas is represented as laudably suppressing his personal feelings in the national interest (cf. esp. 4.395–6). Here we have an appropriate Roman and epic reversal of a lyric scenario: the Sapphic invincibility of love is here itself overcome for communitarian purposes.

Two Final Possibilities

I conclude my analysis by offering two further possibilities of Sapphic influence in the *Aeneid*; both are somewhat speculative, but both fit the model of adapting Sapphic material to the epic context, which we have been sketching. One unexpected Vergilian location where Sapphic traces can be argued is the opening of the *Aeneid*:

> Arma uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque uenit
> litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> ui superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram . . .
>
> Verg. *Aen.* 1.1–4

I sing of arms and of the man who was the first to come from Troy's shores to Italy and to the shores of Lavinia, a fugitive by fate: much tossed was he by land and sea through the violence of the gods, because of the mindful anger of fierce Juno.

There are at least some points of contact here with the opening of a fragmentary poem of Sappho, which invokes Hera to come to the poet and alludes to the departure of the Greeks from Troy:

[24] See also Thorsen (2014a, pp. 63–6).

Πλάσιν δή μ'[
πότνι' Ἤρα, σὰ χ[
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτ[ρεΐδαι κλῆ-
τοι βασίληες·
ἐκτελέσσαντες μ[άλα πόλλ' ἄεθλα,
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ἴ[λιον, ἔν τε πόντωι,
οὐκ ἐδύναντο . . .

Sappho fr. 17.1–7 Voigt/Campbell

[come] close . . . Lady Hera with your [?] . . . the famous Atreidae prayed . . . the kings . . . having finished labours . . . at first about Troy, and in the sea . . . setting out in this direction . . .

The link of heroes leaving Troy is clear, as too is the connection with Juno: the apparent care taken by the sons of Atreus to placate their normal supporter Hera (presumably in search of a prosperous voyage) is a neat contrast with the malevolence of the same goddess as the anti-Trojan Juno persecuting Aeneas on his similar voyage.

I have printed Page's extensive supplements in lines 5 and 6.[25] These are printed by some modern editors other than Page (e.g. Campbell's Loeb), though only in the critical apparatus of Voigt.[26] If these are accepted, the resemblance between the two passages becomes much closer, with Sapphic models for the land/sea sufferings of *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*. No great weight should be placed on these supplements (no doubt Page was influenced at least unconsciously by the opening of Vergil's poem), but it would be consistent with Vergil's complex approach to intertextuality if Rome's greatest epic begins with an allusion to a Lesbian (and lesbian) archaic lyric poet as well as to the *Iliad* (*arma*) and *Odyssey* (*uirum*).[27]

The 'new' poem of Sappho, which has emerged from the recent supplementation of fr. 58 may also leave some traces in the *Aeneid*. I here give the text of the last four lines of the poem in Dirk Obbink's text,[28] followed by my translation:

καὶ γὰρ π̣[ο]τ̣ᾳ̣ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Ἄὔων
ἔρωι φ . . . ᾳ̣θ̣ε̣ισαν βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν,
ἔοντᾳ̣ [κ]ᾴλ̣ο̣ν καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὖτον ὔμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνωι π̣ό̣λ̣ι̣ο̣ι̣ γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ι̣τ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν.

Sappho, fr. 58.9–12 Obbink

[25] From Lobel and Page (1955). [26] Campbell (1982); Voigt (1971, p. 45).
[27] For the literary dynamics of 'generic enrichment' in play here, see Harrison (2007).
[28] In Greene and Skinner (2009, p. 11).

> And indeed long ago they said that rosy-armed Dawn, [overcome?] by love went to the ends of the earth carrying Tithonus, when he was handsome and young, but in time nonetheless grey old age snatched him, though he had an immortal bedfellow.

Here the reporting of a past erotic affair in which a young man is overtaken by grey age and leaves his normal home on the earth to go to a further dimension might be picked up in the account of the metamorphosis of Cycnus, the lover of Phaethon, in the *Aeneid*:

> namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati,
> populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum
> dum canit et maestum Musa solatur amorem
> canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam
> linquentem terras et sidera uoce sequentem.
>
> Verg. *Aen.* 10.189–93

> For they say that Cycnus, in grief for his beloved Phaethon, as he sang amid the poplar branches, the sisters' shade, and solaced his sad love with the Muse, took on the whiteness of old age in soft feathers as he left the earth and sought the stars with his voice.

Note how both passages introduce the story with a reporting formula (ἔφαντο, *ferunt*), and how old age is given a colour epithet in both cases, grey or white (πόλιον γῆρας, *canentem . . . senectam*).

In both cases one party to the affair is in some sense immortal: Dawn is a goddess, while Cycnus becomes the everlasting constellation of the Swan. It is a nice touch that a heterosexual affair in Sappho is apparently reworked by Vergil as a homosexual affair, probably via the Hellenistic poet Phanocles.[29]

Conclusion

I hope to have shown that echoes of Sappho are more widespread in the works of Vergil than scholars have generally allowed. It is especially interesting that the theme of the Evening Star as the cue for flocks to return home, prominent in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, appears to originate in Sapphic epithalamia, alongside the more familiar and ironic/pathetic use of Sapphic epithalamian imagery in the context of the

[29] For the details of the Cycnus story and the links with Phanocles see Harrison (1991, pp. 119–22).

violent deaths in the *Aeneid* of young men who will never reach marriage themselves and who are beautiful like Sappho's brides: in both cases the intertextual echoes are helped by the shared hexameter. We have also seen how the *Aeneid* presents Aeneas as resisting the usually irresistible Sapphic love-symptoms, and how these became a topic in Augustan poetry; here again there is a clear contrast between the world of erotic lyric and the higher stakes of nationalistic epic. Above all, Vergil shows a clear awareness of Sappho's homoerotic interests; like Horace, he is closely aware of (and exploits for literary effect) the sexual orientation of *mascula Sappho* (Hor. *Epist*. 1.19.28).

8

Sappho and Latin Poetry

The Case of Horace

Richard Hunter

The reception of Sappho in Roman poetry is, perhaps unexpectedly, a still under-explored subject.[1] The present paper makes no claims to remedy that situation, but its speculations will, I hope, suggest some of the routes which have not yet been followed to the end. My principal example is, in any case, a familiar one which has been the subject of some recent acute remarks by Denis Feeney and Alessandro Barchiesi.[2]

The ode which opens Horace's fourth book pleads with Venus to find a more suitable (and younger) victim, names and praises such a person (Paullus Fabius Maximus) to whose house the goddess can process drawn, as in Sappho poem 1, by birds, and one who will reward the goddess suitably, but the poem concludes with an address to the young Ligurinus, with whom the poet is apparently now captivated. It is extremely hard to resist the idea that Horace has here used and to some degree inverted the prayer with which the Alexandrian edition of

[1] Reprinted with permission from Bastianini-Casanova (2007, pp. 213–25). Original title: 'Sappho and Latin Poetry'. Some of the argument of this paper was re-used in Hunter (2009, pp. 124–7). Apart from changes enforced by new evidence about the text of Sappho and some bibliographical addenda, I have resisted the temptation to revise the 2007 paper, despite (or perhaps because of) the excitingly fluid state of current Sapphic studies. All translations are my own, unless I have indicated otherwise.

[2] Feeney (1998, pp. 101–12), Barchiesi (2000, pp. 172–3); see also Putnam (1986, pp. 39–41). After writing a draft of this paper I consulted the extensive commentary in Hills (1999); I have added references to this where appropriate. For Horace and Sappho more generally cf. Woodman (2002) and Phillips (2014a and 2014b).

Sappho all but certainly opened (Sappho poem 1):[3] instead of asking Aphrodite to come, he wishes her to go away to somewhere else.[4] At the head of his first lyric collection,[5] Horace had placed a reflection upon his activity as a poet and an explicit wish to be considered by Maecenas as the equal of the Alexandrian canon of nine lyric poets, and he had put some detail upon this wish by *Lesboum . . . barbiton* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.24, 'Lesbian lyre') and by immediately following this wish with a poem in Sapphic metre, the metre of the second poem in the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus (fr. 308 Voigt) and of the whole of the first book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho;[6] at the head of his second collection, he has placed a poem in a lyric, more specifically Sapphic, voice, and then followed it by an explicit reflection upon the nature of lyric poetry and his place within it: *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.1, 'Anyone who strives to compete with Pindar').[7] The opening of the first poem in the fourth book of *Odes*, *intermissa, Venus, diu | rursus bella moues?* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.1–2, 'Are you making war again, Venus, after so long a truce?')[8] marks the distance not just between the two collections, but also between Horace and his model Sappho; *intermissa* colours both *Venus* and *bella*—here love and war really are the same thing. Once we have realized that Sappho poem 1 is the key intertext, we see that Horace's opening *bella* picks up Sappho's closing plea to the goddess to be her *σύμμαχος*.[9] It might be thought typical of the kind of literary procedure with which we are dealing that Horace's poem places close verbal allusions to the model at the beginning and end of his poem: *parce precor precor* offers an emotionally intensified version of Sappho's *λίσσομαί σε*,[10] and the language of pursuit and flight in Horace's final stanza, however hackneyed it has become, can hardly be other than a revision of Aphrodite's famous closing promise to Sappho (Sappho

[3] For the poem quoted in its entirety, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 6. For a *Catullan* inversion of Sappho 1, see Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 129–31.

[4] For *Odes* 4.1 as an *ἀποπομπή* ('sending away') cf. e.g. Fraenkel (1957, pp. 410–14).

[5] Hutchinson (2002) has given reasons to be at least cautious about the conventional view (which I here follow) that *Odes* 1–3 were published together in 23 BC.

[6] For the close of *Odes* 1.1 cf. e.g. Feeney (1993, pp. 41–2), Woodman (2002, pp. 53–4), and Lyne (2005, pp. 542–3, 545–6).

[7] Spelman (2014) offers a very interesting 'Alcaean' reading of *Carm.* 4.1, which should be consulted as a balance to my 'Sapphic' reading.

[8] See also Harrison, Chapter 7, p. 145.

[9] See also Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 66.

[10] For such emotional repetition in grammatical theory cf. Lausberg (1960, pp. 312–14).

1.21–4 Voigt);[11] the lover who yields only in a dream, as Ligurinus does, is certainly yielding 'against his will' (cf. Sappho 1.24 Voigt, κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα).

Horace's *Odes* 4.1 seems replete with Sapphic echoes, beyond the use of fr. 1. How many Sapphic laments for old age (itself, of course, a stock theme of archaic lyric) Horace might have known we cannot tell, but the recent restoration of an all but complete poem on the subject has reminded us of how many there probably were.[12] Horace promises Venus that the young Paullus will establish a shrine to her at which there will be vigorous dancing; the implication is that Horace can no longer dance, just as parties no longer bring him any pleasure, and this is a theme which is explicit in the new Cologne poem of Sappho fr. 58. It is, moreover, hardly fanciful to sense Sappho fr. 31 behind the symptoms of love which Horace admits in the penultimate stanza (tears and a sudden inability to speak);[13] here, as so often and as with the language of pursuit and flight in the final stanza, the surrounding context re-energizes a direct link with a famous 'authorizing' text, although the details of that text have long since become a very familiar part of poetic tradition.[14]

In the first two stanzas of the second half of the poem Horace describes to the goddess the delights of the shrine which Paullus will build to her:

> illic plurima naribus
> duces tura lyraeque et Berecyntiae
> delectabere tibiae
> mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
>
> illic bis pueri die
> numen cum teneris uirginibus tuum
> laudantes pede candido
> in morem Salium ter quatient humum.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.21–8

[11] Cf. Hills (1999, p. 56). Pasquali's (1964, pp. 357–8) invocation of Theocritus 30 does not, I think, really help here.

[12] Sappho fr. 21 Voigt is of some interest—old age, pursuit (πέταται διώκων), and perhaps Aphrodite.

[13] See also Harrison, Chapter 7, p. 145.

[14] For the matter in general cf. Hinds (1998, pp. 17–51). I suspect that the fact that ἵδρώς and *lacrima* have at least one meaning in common (liquid which exudes from plants, gum, resin) has influenced Horace's choice here, though tears are of course a very familiar 'symptom of love' (Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.5): the 'symptom' is changed, but a formal link to the original remains. Putnam (1986, p. 41) attractively suggests that Horace's *manat* picks up *flamma demanat* in Catullus' translation of Sappho 31.

> There your nose will breathe abundant incense, and you will take delight in the music of the lyre and the Berecynthian flute, and the pipe too will not be absent; there, twice each day, boys and tender maidens will in triple time beat the ground with their shining white feet, in the Salian fashion, as they celebrate your divinity.

Marvellous places endowed with a sense of the numinous are not uncommon in what survives of Sappho's poetry, but I may not be alone in recalling here Sappho fr. 2, though the verbal links are perhaps not strong enough in themselves to establish beyond doubt that Horace was thinking of this poem.[15] If we were to hypothesize for a moment that the poem which we know as fr. 2 was indeed the second poem in the Alexandrian collection, then the Sapphic texture of *Odes* 4.1 might suddenly deepen considerably; it would, of course, not be surprising to find that collection beginning with two, rather than one, cletic addresses to Aphrodite. There are, of course, many possible objections to this hypothesis, not least the fact that Lucia Prauscello has recently published a papyrus which may contain a commentary on a poem which may be identified in the text as the second poem of the first book and which is certainly not our Sappho fr. 2.[16] As, however, everything about this text remains quite uncertain, it may for the moment be better to follow the speculative hypothesis to the end, and there is a little more circumstantial evidence which can be added. The hypothesis would at least not be incompatible with the quite rich indirect tradition of Sappho fr. 2, and—for what it is worth—would help to explain why someone chose this poem for inscription on a Ptolemaic ostracon, if in fact the ostracon postdates the Alexandrian edition.[17] There is perhaps one further piece of evidence here to which, no doubt, varying degrees of weight will be assigned.

The first description in the second book of Philostratus' *Imagines* is of a choir of maidens with their teacher, who is just beginning to show signs of age; they are hymning Aphrodite, who is present at the performance in the shape of an ivory statue. Martin West has recently adduced this passage in connection with the new Cologne poem,[18] although it has long

[15] It has been suggested that Hor. *Carm.* 3.18 echoes Sappho fr. 2 (cf. Bartoletti 1938, McEvilley 1972, pp. 330–1), but, like Nisbet and Rudd (2004, *ad loc.*), I am not convinced.

[16] Cf. Prauscello (2005, p. 64).

[17] Cf. p. 151. The ostracon was dated by Norsa to the second century BC and this is adopted by most commentators; Lobel and Page, however, assign it to the third century BC (cf. also Page 1955, p. 35).

[18] West (2005, pp. 5–6).

been of interest to students of Sappho as it contains two explicit references to the poet (cf. fr. 185 Voigt). The scene is set 'amidst delicate myrtle-groves' and there is an altar:

βούλει λόγου τι ἐπιλείβωμεν τῶι βωμῶι; λιβανωτοῦ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἔχει καὶ κασίας καὶ σμύρνης, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Σαπφοῦς τι ἀναπνεῖν.

Philostr. *Imag.* 2.1.2

Do you want us to pour a libation of discourse upon the altar? There is sufficient frankincense and cassia and myrrh; the altar seems to me to exhale a breath of Sappho.

The mixture of spices is exactly that of Sappho, *μύρρα καὶ κασία λίβανός τ' ὀνεμείχνυτο* (Sappho fr. 44.30, 'myrrh and cinnamon and frankincense were mingled'), describing the fragrance which filled the streets of Troy as Hector brought his bride home to the sound of maiden-choirs, and Lobel-Page and Voigt rightly cite this passage in connection with that verse.[19] Sappho's usage of the form *μύρρα* seems to have passed into the grammatical tradition, and this strengthens the case for seeing an allusion here by Philostratus to Sappho fr. 44; it may or may not also be relevant that the poem from which Sappho fr. 44 comes seems to have been the closing poem of Book 2 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. Given, however, Philostratus' mosaic-like technique of composition, it may at least be worth raising the possibility that he also has the *locus amoenus* of Sappho fr. 2 in mind, and if that poem occupied a prominent position in ancient editions, then this would give further force to its use at the head of Philostratus' new book.[20] Be that as it may, there may well be more Sapphic poetry behind *Imagines* 2.1 than we can yet identify. Thus, for example, the opening words of the description (and of the book) are *Ἀφροδίτην ἐλεφαντίνην*; the rhythm suggests Aeolic verse, and the phrase may bring to mind Horace's promise to Venus:

Albanos prope te lacus
ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.

Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.19–20

. . . beside the Alban lake he will place you in marble beneath a beam of citron wood.

[19] That Horace was thinking of Sappho fr. 44 at *Carm.* 4.1.21–8 (cited above) has been argued, cf. Hills (1999, pp. 19–20, 43–4).

[20] The 'Sapphic' opening to Book 2 of Philostratus' *Imagines* picks up and varies the Homeric opening of Book 1.

Barchiesi has observed how Horace's substitution here of a statue for the 'real' goddess in Sappho poem 1 enacts 'a Roman replica, a cold *Ersatz* poised between presence and absence, a copy instead of a model',[21] but Horace might have another passage of Sappho in mind as well, with Roman marble replacing Greek ivory. We can hardly doubt that more than one of Sappho's poems could have been performed in front of, and referred to, an image of the goddess; the presence of an image would lend force to any cletic appeal for the presence of the 'real' god.

The Sapphic voice of Horace's *Odes* 4.1 prepares for the poet's refusal in 4.2 to write in the Pindaric manner; Sappho is, like Horace, more a bee than a soaring eagle. The contrast between Sappho and Pindar may seem to us 'natural' enough, but here—as so often—a Roman poet may reflect Greek criticism as well as Greek poetry; Horace's warning against Pindaric *aemulatio* by a poet may seem, in any event, like a response to Dionysius of Halicarnassus' claim that there were many reasons why Pindar was ζηλωτός ('worth imitating') for the aspiring orator (*De imit.* 2.5 Aujac = II 204–5 U.-R.).[22] Our principal source for Sappho poem 1 is in fact Dionysius' treatise *Comp.* 23.11; Dionysius quotes the poem as an illustration of what he calls the γλαφυρά ('smooth') style of composition, of which Sappho is the principal example in the field of lyric poetry. The choice of poem is presumably influenced by the fact that it stood first in the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, which seems largely to have been the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium;[23] the position of the poem in the edition will also shed light on the contrast between the many references to it in the later grammatical tradition—to say nothing of Horace's use of it—and the apparent paucity of allusions in poetry of the high Hellenistic

[21] Barchiesi (2000, p. 173).

[22] We cannot rule out the possibility that by the time he was writing *Odes* 4 Horace did in fact know the critical treatises of Dionysius, or at least was familiar with the ideas contained therein, even if not exactly in the shape which Dionysius gives them, cf. further Görler (1979, pp. 176–7). For the sense of *aemulari* in Horace cf. Kiessling and Heinze (1917, *ad loc.*), Hills (1999, pp. 72–3). In the language of Dionysius this is ζῆλος ('eager rivalry'), rather than μίμησις ('imitation'), cf. *De imit.* fr. 2 Aujac = II 200.21–5 U.-R., though the distinction is in practice a fluid one (cf. e.g. *De imit.* 1.3 Aujac = II 203.6–7 U.-R., [Longinus], *Subl.* 13.2, Russell 1979, p. 10); for the importance of these ideas for Catullus' 'translation' of Sappho, cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, pp. 472–4). The ζῆλος of a great figure such as Pindar will, by its very nature, 'carry our souls upwards', as [Longinus] puts it (*Subl.* 14.1), and Horace is pointing out the dangers of such Platonic transport. The Pindaric eagle is *sublimis* in more than one sense.

[23] Cf. Pfeiffer (1968, pp. 181–9).

period.[24] The style which Dionysius opposes to the γλαφυρά is the αὐστηρά ('harsh', 'rough', 'bitter'); the two styles are said to be completely opposed to each other 'in the most important points' (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23.8 = II 113.16–18 U.-R.). The principal lyric example of the αὐστηρά is Pindar (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22.7 = II 98.10 U.-R.), and to illustrate this Dionysius cites a dithyramb of that poet (Pind. fr. 75 Maehler); there may thus be more than one reason why Horace places dithyrambs first in his survey of the subjects of Pindar's grand lyric style (Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.10–12).[25] The αὐστηρά has the grandeur of τὸ ἀρχαικόν ('the archaic') (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22.12 = II 100.15–101.1 U.-R.), whereas the γλαφυρά style avoids τὸ . . . θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον ('everything bold and hazardous') (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23.4 = II 112.16 U.-R.), which the αὐστηρά by implication embraces; here we will recall not just Horace's *per audacis . . . dithyrambos* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.10–11), but the thrust of some famous chapters of [Longinus], *On the Sublime*.[26] When Horace creatively reads Sappho's style as a forerunner of Hellenistic/Roman poetic taste, he is thus not departing very far from the implicit lessons of contemporary criticism.

In the second stanza of *Odes* 4.2 Horace uses the image of a swollen torrent to describe the power of Pindar's style; the image is very familiar in both poetry and criticism.[27] Here it resonates against the immediately preceding *aquas . . . uolubilis* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.40, 'rolling waters', presumably of the Tiber) at the close of the first ode of Book 4 and perhaps prompts the thought that there too issues of style may be involved.[28]

[24] Whether or not the lyric text preserved with the new Cologne Sappho (cf. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, Esposito 2005, pp. 61–2, Lundon 2007) alludes specifically to Sappho poem 1 should here be brought into the argument.

[25] *P.Oxy.* 2438.36–9, however, offers an ancient list of Pindar's works in which the dithyrambs are placed first. For the importance of dithyramb to Horace's conception of high Greek lyric cf. Freis (1983).

[26] I have discussed some of the relevant issues in connection with Hor. *Carm.* 4.2 in Hunter (2003b, pp. 219–25); cf. also Hills (1999, pp. 76–82) and Brink (1963–82) on Hor. *AP* 352. For Sappho's risk-taking in a different context cf. Demetr. *Eloc.* 127.

[27] Cf. Hunter (2003b, pp. 219–25), citing earlier bibliography. Quintilian picks up Horace's image: *Pindarus princeps . . . uelut quodam eloquentiae flumine* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.61 'Pindar is far the greatest . . . and a real flood of eloquence').

[28] For a different, but perhaps related, observation cf. Putnam (1986, p. 38, n. 5): 'The waters are rolling but also fluent, for young Ligurinus, by a type of hypallage, is still, and finally, associated with what the aging, tongue-tied speaker now claims to lack—the clarity to speak readily.'

Dionysius says of Sappho poem 1 that the style 'flows easily and gently' (Dion. Hal. *Comp* 23.15 = II 117.4–5 U.-R., *εὔρους . . . καὶ μαλακή*), with no disruptive 'waves'; even more striking perhaps is his general description of the smooth *γλαφυρά* style:

> *οὐδ' ὅλως τὸ βραδὺ καὶ σταθερὸν τοῦτο φίλον αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κεκινῆσθαι βούλεται τὴν ὀνομασίαν καὶ φέρεσθαι θάτερα κατὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ὀνομάτων καὶ ὀχεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλληλουχίαν λαμβάνοντα βάσιν ὥσπερ τὰ ῥέοντα καὶ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμοῦντα·*
>
> Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23.2 = II 112.2–7 U.-R.

The style does not care for the slow or immobile, but it demands that the words are kept moving, carried along and riding one on top of another, protected by their mutual interdependence, like flowing streams which are never still.[29]

As Pindar is a mountain torrent, so Sappho is an ever-flowing stream, and in appealing to Ligurinus through echoes of the Lesbian poet, Horace really is pursuing him *per aquas uolubilis*. The boy's harshness which intrudes into the phrase *per aquas, dure, uolubilis* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.40, 'hardhearted as you are, through the river's rolling waters'), jars with the soft smooth style of a Sappho and prepares for the major contrast of styles which is to be the subject of the following poem.

Just as Horace's direct address to Ligurinus in the final two stanzas draws out the 'implied audience' of Sappho's poem—the girl who is causing the poet pain—so Horace's whole poem is, of course, in various ways a reading of Sappho's poem. I earlier referred to Horace's poem as in part an 'inversion' of the Sapphic model, but the situation is in fact rather more nuanced. At the beginning of the poem Horace asks Venus to leave him in peace, which suggests that desire is stirring again, and at the end we learn the name of the object of that desire—Ligurinus. The poem is therefore (*inter alia*) a declaration of love for Ligurinus, from whom the poet wants—what? Sexual fulfilment, or to be rid of his desire, as being inappropriate to a man of his age? What also of Sappho in her poem 1? She asks the god 'not to crush her spirit with grief and pain' (ll. 1–2), to be her ally, to release her from sufferings, and to 'accomplish (*τέλεσον*) all that my heart desires to accomplish' (ll. 25–7). What does Sappho want? However Aphrodite's speech is interpreted, the general thrust of the poem is normally taken to be that Sappho is (once again) feeling unrequited desire and asks the god's help in winning over the

[29] Translation here is singularly difficult, but I hope that this does not misrepresent.

beloved girl. This may, of course, be broadly correct, but it is crucial that Sappho does not express this directly; the nature of the desired 'release' is left unspoken. Just as the poem plays out the repetitiveness of desire through the repetitiveness of prayer and prayer form, so one can write the *telos* of a poem, but not the *telos* of desire; *qua* poet, Sappho can conjure Aphrodite in and out of existence, but what she cannot do is to conjure away the real pain of 'Aphrodite', i.e. of unrequited desire. The metonymic use of 'Aphrodite' for 'desire' conceals more than it reveals, and this is a central issue in almost all literary representations of the goddess from *Iliad* 3 and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* onwards.[30] Sappho poem 1 thus stands at the head of an important strand in ancient thought and poetry about love: 'What do lovers want?' is a question which of course distracted (*inter alios*) Plato on more than one occasion. That the answer is not necessarily obvious is clear from such texts as Lycidas' song in Theocritus *Idylls* 7 and the anguish of Catullus 76, in which the poet, perhaps with Sappho poem 1 in mind, asks the gods to free him from the *taeter morbus* of desire. Horace's poem is thus as much an interpretation of Sappho poem 1 as it is an inversion.

As almost an extended footnote, let me add here a further way in which metonymic uses of 'Aphrodite' have influenced the reception of Sappho poem 1. *Ἀφροδίτη* is 'grace, charm, beauty', in Latin *lepos* or *uenus*, whether of a person or a poem or a speech (cf. *LSJ* s.v. II.3); all the qualities which ancient criticism found in Sappho's verse are encapsulated in the goddess's name. Whether this had anything to do with the placing of this poem at the head of the Alexandrian edition we may well doubt, but that placing seems to have allowed a subsequent 'programmatic' reading of the poem, in which Sappho's appeal for the goddess's presence could be understood as a request for the poetic grace which the goddess embodies. In his opening hymn to Venus, Lucretius has a number of reasons for choosing that goddess:

> quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas
> nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
> exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam,
> te sociam studeo scribendis uersibus esse
> quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor

[30] I have discussed some of the issues surrounding such metonymy in Hunter (2006, pp. 67–80).

> Memmiadae nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni
> omnibus ornatum uoluisti excellere rebus.
>
> Lucr. 1.21–7

> Since you alone steer the nature of things and nothing rises into the bright coasts of light without you, nor is anything glad or lovely, I am keen that you should be my ally in the writing of the verses which I am attempting to fashion on the nature of things for my dear Memmius, whom you, goddess, throughout his life have wanted to be adorned with all virtues to the highest degree.

The apparent echo[31] of the end of Sappho poem 1 in l. 24 uses the 'programmatic' positioning of that poem at the head of the Alexandrian edition to turn Sappho's plea to the god for help in matters of the heart into a plea for help in the writing of verses; it is Venus who will ensure that Lucretius' poem is indeed *amabile*, or as we might say *uenustum*. Lucretius here creatively reads Sappho's request to Venus as functioning rather like Callimachus' request to the Graces at the conclusion of the first *aition* of the *Aitia* (Callim. fr. 7.13–14 Pf.). Deliberately or not, book editors, as well as later poets, create meaning in the texts they edit and read.

In her prayer at the end of poem 1, Sappho does not, as we have noted, tell the god explicitly what it is that she wants.[32] Such phenomena are of course not rare, but let me add one possible allusion to these unspoken prayers in Latin poetry. In Poem 65 Catullus introduces his translation from Callimachus' *Aitia* (Poem 66) with a simile which alludes to another passage of the *Aitia*, the story of Acontius and Cydippe.[33] Poem 65 is very explicitly an introduction to Poem 66, but the same cannot be said for Poem 50, the poem to Licinius Calvus, which in our texts precedes Catullus' translation of Sappho fr. 31. Nevertheless, that *hoc, iucunde, tibi poema feci,* | *ex quo perspiceres meum dolorem* (Catull. 50.16–17, 'I made you this poem, my most delightful friend, from which you could discern my pain') refers actually to Catullus 51 (or to 50–1 together), not to Catullus 50, and that the two poems are indeed to be read as a diptych, partly held together by the framing idea of *otium* (Catull. 50.1 ~ 51.13–16), is now an old suggestion,[34] and one which I think should not be discarded too lightly; we may compare *mitto* | *haec*

[31] Noted by Hahn (1966, p. 137); see Fulkerson, Chapter 3.
[32] On this reticence, see also West (1970, pp. 308–10).
[33] Cf. Hunter (1993).
[34] Cf. Lavency (1965), Wray (2001, pp. 95–109), and Holzberg (2002, pp. 84–6).

expressa tibi carmina Battiadae (Catull. 65.15–16, 'I send to you these verses of Battiades translated'), even while recognizing that the clear differences between the cases of 50–1 and 65–6 are not to be minimized. Commentators differ over the substance of Catullus' *preces* which Licinius is warned not to ignore (Catull. 50.17–21), but a Sapphic introduction to a Sapphic poem would at least be appropriate, and no passage more so, or more likely to be recognized by Calvus, than that with which Sappho's introductory poem concluded.[35]

We noted earlier that Horace can, when it suits him, read Sappho as foreshadowing the modern, we might say 'Callimachean', style in poetry. The most familiar instance is the picture of the Underworld in *Odes* 2.13, where 'the dense mob, standing shoulder to shoulder, pay more attention to the fights and stories of tyrants banished [of Alcaeus]' sc. than to Sappho (Hor. *Carm*. 2.13.32).[36] Sappho is an exquisite taste, not one for the *uolgus*.[37]

Here the Hellenistic, as well as the Roman, reception of Sappho is of course involved. We might think, for example, of the importance of Sappho for Erinna's *Distaff*, a poem which seems to have been a touchstone of 'modernism' (cf. Antiphanes *Anth. Pal.* 11.322 = Erinna T 11 Neri); Erinna's debt to Sappho seems already to have been recognized in antiquity (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.190 = Erinna T 7 Neri),[38] and modern scholarship has explored that debt in some detail.[39] It remains intriguing, and not yet to my mind properly explained, that Theocritus too wrote a 'Sapphic' poem (*Idyll* 28) in which he addresses a distaff (ἀλακάτα in the opening verse) and which is entitled '(The) Distaff' in two of the three manuscripts known to preserve the poem and in a third-century AD papyrus.[40] Theocritus 28 is, moreover, in the same metre, the 'Sapphic

[35] Catullus may to some extent have modelled his relationship with Licinius on that of Theocritus and Nicias of Miletus. We know that Nicias responded poetically to his friend's poem on the lovesick Cyclops (cf. *SH* 566) and in *Idyll* 28 we see Theocritus presenting Nicias with a 'Sapphic' poem.

[36] For the relevant passages, see Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 46.

[37] The light that the new Cologne poem may shed on Hor. *Carm*. 2.13 is discussed by Hardie (2005, pp. 22–4) and Di Benedetto (2005, pp. 9–10).

[38] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 401.

[39] Cf. Hunter (1996, p. 16) with bibliography. Sappho fr. 24a Voigt is particularly suggestive in this regard.

[40] It may be necessary to stress that the important discussions by Pretagostini (1997) and Fassino and Prauscello (2001) of the differences between Theocritus *Idylls* 28 and 30, on the

sixteen-syllable' or 'greater asclepiad'—the metre of the third book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho and of many poems of Alcaeus—as a well-known fragment of Callimachus:

> ἃ ναῦς, ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὶν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζόας
> ἅρπαξας, ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω.
>
> Callim. fr. 400 Pf.

Ship, which has snatched from me the only sweet light of my life, I beg you, by Zeus who watches over harbours . . .

Literary discussion of Callimachus fr. 400 has largely concerned its influence on subsequent poetry, notably Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 12.52 (= *HE* 4432–7), which perhaps combines echoes of the poem from which fr. 400 comes with Callimachus *Epigram* 41 Pf. (= *HE* 1057–62), and—more especially—Horace, *Odes* 1.3:[41]

> sic te diua potens Cypri,
> sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
> uentorumque regat pater
> obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
> nauis, quae tibi creditum
> debes Virgilium: finibus Atticis
> reddas incolumem precor
> et serues animae dimidium meae.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.1–8

May the goddess who rules Cyprus, may Helen's brothers, bright stars, may the father of the winds, with all held back except Iapyx, guide you, O ship, who owe us Virgil who has been entrusted to you; I pray that you bring him unharmed to the territory of Attica and preserve the half of my own soul.

What is important in the present context is that Horace's poem seems fairly clearly also to echo Sappho fr. 5 Voigt, one of the familiar poems which has benefitted from recently published papyri:[42]

one hand, and *Idyll* 29, on the other, should not lead to a downplaying of the importance of Sappho and Alcaeus for *Idylls* 28 and 30.

[41] Cf. Pasquali (1964, pp. 260–78), Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. 41), and Cavarzere (1996, pp. 135–7).

[42] Cf. Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014). The new papyrus means that the poem beginning *Κύπρι κα*[, listed in *PMich.* inv. 3498 (= *SLG* 286, cf. Merkelbach (1973), is not Sappho fr. 5 Voigt.

πότνιαι Νηρήιδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι
τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι
κὤσσα ϝῶι θύμωι κε θέλη γένεσθαι
κῆνο τελέσθην . . .

Sappho fr. 5.1–4 Obbink

Mistress Nereids, grant that my brother reach here unharmed, and that all his heart wishes comes to pass . . .

incolumem in l. 7 unmistakably looks to Sappho's *ἀβλάβην*. Horace's combination of Sappho and Callimachus suggests that he may be drawing out, by a version of the familiar technique of 'window reference', a feature of his Callimachean model: in other words, Horace may point us to the fact that Callimachus' poem was 'Sapphic' in more than just its metre.

Horace may well have had predecessors here. That the only two Catullan 'translations' of which we know are from Sappho and Callimachus also draws the two Greek poets together;[43] how significant this is we cannot know, but it has been attractively suggested that Catullus echoes Sappho, as well as Callimachus, in Poem 65,[44] the poem which introduces his translation of the 'Lock of Berenice'.[45] I would guess, but it can be no more than a guess, that Sapphic poetry on her errant brother has influenced both the subsequent propemptic tradition of, for example, Callimachus fr. 400 Pf. and Theocritus 28 and also Catullus' poetry on the death of his brother.[46] If there is anything to this guess, it would be a very remarkable element of Catullus' self-fashioning as the Roman Sappho.

[43] Cf. Thorsen, Chapter 4.
[44] Cf. Woodman (2002, p. 59, citing earlier bibliography).
[45] Cf. Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 81–9.
[46] We now know much more about Sappho's poetry on her brother, cf. Obbink (2014), see also Thorsen, Chapter 13.

9

Sappho, Alcaeus, and the Literary Timing of Horace

Thea S. Thorsen

Might the poetry of Sappho provide models for Augustan poets such as Horace for dramatizing an awareness of 'coming after'?[1] Coming at the very end of a literary tradition as well as participating in a quest for originality, Augustan poets typically find themselves in a paradoxical situation where the question of timing becomes almost existential. How do you find your own moment in time when so much has already been done, and done with such distinction?

This chapter argues that Sappho's approach to the Trojan War and her Homeric predecessor in fr. 16.1–12 functions as a model for the literary strategies of Horace in the face of the preceding tradition, as seen in *Odes* 1.15.[2] Clues in a later poem by Horace, *Odes* 4.9, suggest that Sappho fr. 16 can indeed be read as an intertext of *Odes* 1.15, as can Alcaeus frr. 42 and 283. These Alcaic fragments are regularly brought into the scholarly discussion of this Horatian poem. What has not yet been done, as far as I know, is to read Sappho fr. 16 alongside Alcaeus frr. 42 and 283, treating them as joint intertexts for Horace's *Odes* 1.15. In the following I will argue not only that both Alcaeus and Sappho are

[1] Cf. Hunter (2008). A similar approach to the overwhelming tradition of Homer is found in Choerilus of Samos of the fifth century AD (*Suppl. Hell.* 137), cf. MacFarlane (2009); compare also the strategies of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian in late antiquity as they retell the Homeric tale against the grain of Homer, cf. Prosperi (2013). I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for pointing these references out to me.

[2] Other studies have also noted similarities between Sappho fr. 16 and Horatian poetry, notably *Carm.* 2.12.19–26 (Cavallini, 1978/9, pp. 378–9) and *Odes* 1.6 (Rissman, 1983, p. 48).

important models for the understanding of Horace *Odes* 1.15, but also that Sappho emerges as the more important of the two with regard to strategies of securing one's own place in broader literary history, which is of great significance to Augustan poets such as Horace.[3]

All of these poems, Sappho 16, Alcaeus 42 and 283, and Horace's *Odes* 1.15 and 4.9 touch upon the theme of the Trojan War and feature the figure of Helen. Yet, Sappho's approach to both the Trojan War and Helen arguably offers a model that Alcaeus' poems do not for how to manage the anxieties of timing, which, as will be argued in the following, are at the heart of *Odes* 1.15 and *Odes* 4.9.

Sappho 16.1–12: Fighting the Trojan War?

The most important source of inspiration in the history of ancient literature is arguably the Trojan War. This war is famously captured in Homer's epic poems. The immediate and long-standing reception of these poems *is* in many ways the literary history of the West.[4] Consequently, one would expect that all details concerning the war were already well established in antiquity. But how did it start? Who was to blame? What are the origins of the Trojan War? Through the ages, it has proved very important to poets to claim their own place in the tradition after the greatest of bards by seeking fresh and original answers to questions such as these.[5]

Sappho is one of the first of these poets, and her poetry includes not only some of the earliest, but arguably also some of the metapoetically more productive approaches to the origin of the Trojan War, especially when considering her Roman reception in Horace. Notably, Sappho seems to contribute to a tradition which links Helen to the cause of the Trojan War in her fr. 16. However, Sappho differs from other archaic Greek poets in that she represents Helen not first and foremost as

[3] The subsequent comparison between Sappho and Alcaeus is not meant to reflect an actual allusive connection between the two poets as much as the fact that Horace explicitly compares and draws on these poets in his Odes (cf. e.g. Carm. 2.13), which therefore occasionally can be interpreted as responding, however anachronistically, to a poetic dialogue between the two Lesbian poets.

[4] Cf. reception studies of the Homeric epics, such as Greene (1982) and Hall (2008). I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for these references.

[5] See nn. 7 and 8.

a bad example, associated with adultery, death, and destruction, but as a preeminent model embodying universal laws of love:

O]ἰ μὴν ἰππήων στρότον, οἰ δὲ πέσδων,
οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται

πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι
π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἐλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τὸν [αρ]ιστον

καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα 'ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα
Κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθ<η>, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὔταν
] σαν

Sappho fr. 16.1–12[6] Voigt

> Some say a host of cavalry, others of infantry, and others of ships, is the most beautiful thing on the black earth, but I say it is whatsoever a person loves. It is perfectly easy to make this understood by everyone: for she who far surpassed mankind in beauty, Helen, left her most noble husband and went sailing off to Troy with no thought at all for her child or dear parents, but (love) led her astray . . .

Compared to the more reductionist approaches to Helen in other archaic lyric poets,[7] Sappho's portrayal of Helen and the Trojan War retains complexities that resemble more closely those of the Homeric poem; instead of the will of Zeus, it is the power of love that holds supreme sway over humans and heroes, and the actions of Helen paradoxically seem both exemplary and necessary in a way that appears morally abstruse.[8] Sappho may thus be seen as correcting Homer by stressing

[6] For the quotation of more of the fragment, see Heyworth, Chapter 10, p. 191.

[7] Cf. Semon. 7.115–18, Ibycus fr. 282a.5, for Alcaeus, see below. See also Blondell (2010 and 2013, pp. 97–122).

[8] The fragment of Sappho does not dwell on the death and destruction that ensued from these actions, but the ethically challenging aspects of Helen's choice are aggravated by the neat mention of the three generations she thus harmed: her parents, her child, and, not least, 'her most noble husband'. Cf. (Helen explaining to Priam): *ὡς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἁδεῖν κακὸς ὁππότε δεῦρο | νίέι σῷ ἑπόμην, θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα | παῖδά τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὁμηλικίην ἐρατεινήν. | ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα* (Hom. *Il.* 3.173–6, 'I wish that evil death had been pleasing to me when I followed your son here, and left my bridal chamber and my kinspeople and my daughter, well-beloved, and the lovely companions of my girlhood. But that was not to be; so I pine away with weeping.')

the power of love. Although the power of Aphrodite and her realm, love, appear almost as important as the will of Zeus in Homer, Sappho's reference to Homer diverges from its model with regard to at least three striking and related points, which ultimately tip the balance in favour of the goddess. Firstly, Sappho 16 focuses not on destructive 'lust' as the central erotic emotion at the beginning of the Trojan War (cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.30), but 'love' (cf. Sappho 16.5), in a much more positive and general sense; next, the object of Aphrodite's power is not Paris (cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.28), but Helen, which stresses her agency and suggests responsibility; and the third point of relevance here is that in Sappho, Helen's perspective is characterized by a total lack of hints at grief and misery. This point appears particularly contrary to the Homeric model (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.176), since in the Homeric poems Helen's perspective is always linked with self-reproach, regret, and lamentation, which are given no space in the Sapphic poem.

Taken together, these divergences defy both authoritative and reductionist interpretations. Is the poem a celebration of Helen's agency, in which traces of disapproval are deliberately blotted out, because they are irrelevant? Or does Helen's epic self-reproach follow from the Homeric allusions as an understatement? While clear-cut answers to these questions are hard to produce, there can be no doubt about the fact that the driving force of the poem is love. The primacy of love might also have an important metapoetic aspect, since it appears to give the lyric genre of Sappho the upper hand compared to the epic genre of Homeric war.

Odes 4.9 and the Poetics of Timing

The difficulties in approaching the questions outlined above attest, among other things, to Sappho's poetic sophistication. This quality would naturally appeal to other sophisticated poets, such as those of Augustan Rome, who in their turn continued to revisit, revive, and rival the authority of Homer in order to position themselves within the greater literary tradition.[9]

[9] These are all features that mark the literary movement dubbed Callimacheanism in Roman poetry, but as e.g. Hunter, following Rissman (1983, pp. 48–54) and Acosta-Hughes (2010, p. 13 and *passim*), argues extensively throughout Chapters 2 and 8 of this volume, the style and strategies of Sappho are also congruent with this aesthetic movement in Augustan Rome; see also Thorsen, Chapter 4.

Homer's authority and Horace's own place in a tradition of great predecessors is put on display in his *Odes* 4.9, which contains a miniature literary history of poets and poetic characters. The poem opens conventionally, with an evocation of a contemporary setting and addressee, Marcus Lollius,[10] whose achievements Horace intends to celebrate in his verse. According to the poet, this will grant him imperishable fame, just as Homer and poets after him have secured the renown of characters mentioned in their poetry, in contrast to all those men and women who deserved praise in verse before the time of Homer, but who through lack of poetic commemoration remain unknown.

A large number of individuals are invoked through their names or characteristic features in order to demonstrate the poet's point in *Odes* 4.9.[11] These individuals are arguably organized in concentric circles. In the outermost circle we find Horace and Lollius, who stand out from the others not only because they frame the composition and together take up the most lines (Hor. *Carm*. 4.9.1–4, 30–44), but also because they are the only two persons presently alive—and the only Romans—in the poem. Horace naturally plays the role of poet, while Lollius is cast as an object of poetic praise. As such, the roles of Horace and Lollius match those of the individuals in the next concentric circle, in which six male Greek poets are paired with six male mythological figures who are also all famous objects of poetic descriptions. The same

[10] As consul in 21 BC (Hor. *Epist*. 1.20.28) Lollius was responsible for the *clades lolliana* (Tac. *Ann*. 1.10.3, 'the Lollian disaster') in 17 or 16 BC, when he lost an eagle of *Legio V Alaudae* to barbarian tribes that had crossed the Rhine and defeated him in an initial encounter (cf. Dio Cass. 54.20.4–6). Despite such setbacks Horace stresses the virtues of Lollius, maybe in the capacity as friend (cf. *Ep*. 1.17), see also Syme (1989, pp. 396–8). I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for most of these references. For the difficulties inherent in *Odes* 4.9 being an encomium against this backdrop of military failure, see Fraenkel (1957, p. 426), Ambrose (1965), Williams (1968, p. 80), Quinn (1980, p. 316), Putnam (1986, pp. 168–9), Sage (1994), Johnson (2004, pp. 240–1, nn. 90 and 100), Fedeli and Ciccarelli (2008, pp. 404–8), and Thomas (2011, pp. 197–8).

[11] First appears Horace himself, who is identified by his geographical origin (2, *natus ad Aufidum*, 'born by the river Aufidus') and grammatically embedded in the verb *loquor* (4, 'I speak'); then there are the seven poets Homer (*Maeonius Homerus*, 5–6), Pindar (6), Simonides (7, from Ceos, alluded to through his native Muses, *Ceae . . . Camenae*, which may also imply the poet Bacchylides, the nephew of Simonides from the same island), Alcaeus (7), Stesichorus (8), Anacreon (9), and Sappho (10–12, dubbed 'the Aeolian girl'); then follow the seven mythical figures Helen (16), Teucer (17), Idomeneus (20), Sthenelus (20), Hector (22), Deiphobus (22), and Agamemnon (25); and finally comes the addressee of the poem, Lollius (33).

constellation of poet and poetic object appears also in the central circle of the poem, where we find Sappho and Helen.

Parallel to Horace and Lollius, Sappho and Helen stand out exceptionally in this poem,[12] firstly because they appear at the exact centre of the list of Greek poets and mythological figures, next because they embody the turning point where the one list of poets gives way to the other list of poetic objects, thirdly because they are the only female figures included in the poem, and finally, as if to underscore the special status of these figures in Horace's literary history, because Sappho and Helen occupy more space than any of the other Graeco-mythological characters mentioned in *Odes* 4.9:

> . . . spirat adhuc amor
> uiuuntque commissi calores
> Aeoliae fidibus puellae.
>
> non sola comptos arsit adulteri
> crinis et aurum uestibus illitum
> mirata regalisque cultus
> et comites Helene Lacaena.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.10–16

> Still there breathes the love of the Aeolian girl, and there lives her passion confided to the lyre. Not only Spartan Helen became inflamed with love, marvelling at a paramour's trim locks, his gold-spangled raiment, his princely pomp and followers.

The importance of Sappho and Helen as the centrepiece of the catalogue of Greek poets and mythological figures is thus stressed by the mere quantity of lines assigned to them.

Furthermore, the association established in these lines between the poet, Sappho, and the subject of poetry, Helen, is intensified by means of imagery: Sappho has her *calores* ('passion'/'heat') and similarly Helen 'burned' (*arsit*). Also, by leaving the identification of the two women to the last line of their respective stanzas, Horace forms a structural pair (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.12, 16). Thus the phrase *non sola* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.13, 'she was not alone'), referring to Helen, applies not only to the argument

[12] Furthermore, the dubious standing of Lollius as an object of poetic praise matches that of Helen and may thus provide a key to the understanding of the Horatian ode, which scholars have found difficult, since Lollius is not an obvious object of praise (see however the preceding note).

of the poem, which is that whether a character becomes famous or remains unknown depends on the presence or absence of a poet and that therefore even before the poets there must have been women like Helen, however unsung. At the same time, *non sola* also refers to the other names included in the poem proper, pointing towards Sappho: Helen as a woman is indeed not alone, because the woman poet Sappho also appears in Horace's *Odes* 4.9. The catalogue of poets and the catalogue of poetic figures are thus conspicuously embodied in the pair of Sappho, the poet, and Helen, the object of poetry, who thus both stand out, arguably even more than the two contemporary Romans framing the poem.

Which poet is to be associated with the poetic figure of Helen in Horace's *Odes* 4.9? Sappho, but famously also Homer, Alcaeus, and Stesichorus are known to have composed poetry in which Helen features prominently.[13] The fourth stanza captures Helen in the moment when she admired the luxurious looks and entourage of Paris and burned with desire. The scene evokes Paris' visit to Sparta and the moment when they first met. This event took place before the episodes chronicled in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Homer is therefore not the most obvious referent for Horace's depiction of Helen in *Odes* 4.9. Of the other poets mentioned in the ode, Alcaeus seems a more likely referent, as he too, like Sappho, focuses on Helen's falling in love with Paris before their arrival at Troy in his fr. 283, and there is a slight possibility that Stesichorus may have done the same in his ode, which famously had to be undone through his palinode, of which we have a few extant lines and in which we know that Helen was said not to have gone to Troy at all.[14] However, neither *Alcaei minaces | Stesichoriue graues Camenae* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.7–8, 'neither Alcaeus' threatening nor Stesichorus' solemn Muses') seem to refer to the extant poems by Alcaeus in which Helen features, nor to what we know of the ode and palinode by Stesichorus. The poet mentioned in *Odes* 4.9 who most conspicuously stands out as having composed verses about Helen clearly remains Sappho. This is not only underscored by the fact that Sappho and Helen are juxtaposed in Horace's poem, but also by

[13] Cf. Stesichorus fr. 193, a papyrus with commentary on lyric poets, second century AD, which contains the opening words of two palinodes. For further attestations to Stesichorus' turning blind as a punishment for having spoken ill of Helen and subsequently being cured upon writing one or several palinodes on her innocence, see Plat. *Phaedr*. 243a; Plat. *Resp*. 9.586c; Ael. Aristid. *Or*. 1.128, 2.234 (i 1.53; 2.211 Behr); Dio Chrys. *Or*. 11.40.

[14] Cf. Pl. *Phdr*. 243a and Isocr. *Hel*. 64 (i 240 Benseler-Blass).

the fact that the most famous of the extant poems of Sappho in which Helen features,[15] namely Sappho fr. 16, focuses, like the fourth stanza of Horace's *Odes* 4.9, on Helen's infatuation with Paris before her arrival at Troy. In Horace's literary history, Sappho is thus evocatively represented by her fr. 16, which prominently features Helen and her love.

Back to *Odes* 1.15: Literary Timing in Poetic Practice

Book 4 of Horace's *Odes* appeared some ten years after the joint publication of the first three books,[16] and in this fourth book the poet revisits and reflects upon his previous endeavours in the field of lyric poetry.[17] The way in which Book 4 echoes Horace's earlier *Odes* may therefore be regarded as an exhortation to revisit the earlier poems and reread them with the aid of embedded clues. Looking backwards at Horace's lyric output, the fourth stanza of *Odes* 4.9 alludes strikingly to *Odes* 1.15, most conspicuously in the fact that this poem dramatizes what happened after the scene depicted in *Odes* 4.9, in which Helen falls in love with Paris; namely, their ominous voyage from Sparta to Troy. By virtue of association with *Odes* 4.9, *Odes* 1.15 may thus be read against the background of this Sapphic theme.

Horace's *Odes* 1.15 tells of how the prophetic sea-deity, Nereus, overpowered the winds and so stopped the ship of Paris (dubbed *pastor perfidus*, 'deceitful herdsman'), with his Helen (called *hospita*, 'hostess') on board (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.1–5). The poem continues in the form of Nereus' direct speech to Paris, in which the battle to come, the future ferocity of Pallas Athena, Paris' adversary, and the futile protection of Aphrodite, Paris' ally, are duly narrated (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.6–13). Nereus claims that Paris will choose to perform music in his chamber instead of acting bravely on the battlefield (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.13–19), but that his adulterer's good looks will nonetheless be smeared with the dust of the Trojan plains,[18] as Greek soldiers will finally defeat him (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.20–8). In terror, Paris will run like a

[15] The other is Sappho fr. 23, which strikingly echoes the opening verses of the poem that follows *Odes* 1.15, namely 1.16. For more on this fragment, see Heyworth, Chapter 10, p. 188.

[16] Presumably 23 BC, cf. *OCD* (2012 s.v. Horace).

[17] Cf. Lowrie (2010, p. 210).

[18] Whether the transmitted text is *crines* ('hair') or *cultus* ('luxurious outfit'), cf. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. 197).

steer that has seen a wolf, Nereus continues (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.29–32), and although the wrath of Achilles will delay the inevitable outcome, the city of Troy will finally burn to the ground (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.33–6).

Thus, both *Odes* 1.15 and the central sequence of *Odes* 4.9 turn on the beginning of the affair between Helen and Paris. Furthermore, the two poems share striking features that either echo one another or present a direct contrast. In both poems, Paris is identified with adultery (*Carm.* 1.15.19, 4.9.13) and his looks are mentioned; the two poems also share a compressed approach to narration, relying on a few names to evoke the fighting at Troy—and, as has been pointed out, there is significant overlap in the choice of characters mentioned.[19] Furthermore, the repeated image of Paris as 'besmeared'—whether figuratively, with gold (*aurum . . . illitum*, *Carm.* 4.9.14, 'smeared gold') or literally, with dust (*puluere collines*, *Carm.* 1.15.20, 'you will besmear with dust')—provides a lexical link between the poems, to which we shall return towards the end of this chapter.

There are, however, also significant differences between the two poems, the most conspicuous of which concerns the question of agency. Paris is the centre of attention in *Odes* 1.15, as he was simply 'dragging' (*traheret*) his hostess, Helen, with him overseas. By contrast, the focus in *Odes* 4.9 is on the agency of Helen, who actively burned as the seductive Paris inflamed her. Thus, within the corpus of Horace's *Odes*, Helen is neatly cast in the role of both object and subject.

Sappho 16 is not normally regarded as an important backdrop for the understanding of *Odes* 1.15.[20] This might be due to the fact that 1.15, unlike most of Horace's odes, does not refer to a contemporary setting.[21] Efforts have consequently been made to update *Odes* 1.15 to Horace's own times by means of allegorical interpretations. Helen has thus been understood as Cleopatra and Paris as Mark Antony, both enemies vanquished by Augustus some eight years before Horace's *Odes* 1–3 were published.[22] Such an allegorical understanding of the ode capitalizes

[19] Lowrie (1995, p. 45).

[20] One exception is Clay (2010, p. 143), though only in passing. Commentators do, however, regularly refer to Sappho fr. 44 in the context of Horace's *Odes* 1.15, cf. e.g. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. 189).

[21] For other exceptions, however, see *Odes* 3.11 and 3.27; I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for pointing this out to me.

[22] Cf. e.g. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, pp. 189–90) and Lowrie (1997, pp. 123–37). For the issue of poems without addressees in the *Odes* see Citroni (1983).

on the apparent disapproval expressed by Nereus towards the newly formed couple of Paris and Helen—and towards Paris in particular. This perfect equivalence between tenor and vehicle, however, limits the potential significance of the poem: it becomes quite simply an unambiguous condemnation of Paris/Mark Antony and Helen/Cleopatra. What is more, this reductive approach glosses over other features of the poem, which are arguably key to a profounder appreciation not only of the Horatian poem proper, but also, as will be argued, of Sappho's wider Roman reception.

Another obstacle to bringing Sappho 16 into the discussion of Horace's *Odes* 1.15 is that Horace's ancient commentator Porphyrio refers to Bacchylides as the poem's Greek model: *hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur. nam ut ille Cassandram facit uaticinari futura belli Troiani ita hic Proteum* ('in this ode [Horace] follows Bacchylides, for just as he makes Cassandra prophesize the future of the Trojan war, thus [does Horace make] Proteus here'). This piece of information appears problematic, firstly because no poem by Bacchylides that chronicles the prophecies of Cassandra is extant today, so that even when Porphyrio's claim is taken at face value, we cannot assess the nature of the relationship between Horace and his supposed Greek model in this case.[23] Another problem, which appears graver, is the fact that Porphyrio claims that Horace's sea-deity is called Proteus, while the only name transmitted in the Horatian text is Nereus. While both Proteus and Nereus are prophetic sea-deities, and as such easily confusable one with the other, Horace's choice of Nereus rather than Proteus appears pointed for a number of reasons, the most obvious of which is the fact that Nereus is Achilles' grandfather, and so Porphyrio's evident confusion on this point casts doubt on the relevance of his comment.[24]

Instead of speculating on the nature of Bacchylides' lost poem and its alleged relevance for *Odes* 1.15, it may prove more productive to follow the clues in *Odes* 4.9 and read Sappho's fr. 16 as a backdrop for *Odes* 1.15. In doing so, it seems relevant to follow another clue, which is embedded

[23] Following a suggestion by Lowrie (1995) that Porphyrio's mention of Bacchylides should be taken as a reference not so much to a precise poet, as to his genre of choral lyric, Athanassaki (2002) felicitously explores the relationship between *Odes* 1.15 and choral lyric in the case of Aeschylus and Pindar.

[24] Cairns (1971, pp. 447–52) and Bradshaw (2008, pp. 36–7).

throughout *Odes* 1–4: the importance of Sappho in Horace's poetic project, through her strong association with her poetic colleague and compatriot Alcaeus.[25] In the light of this association, I will argue for the importance of Sappho fr. 16 in the context of Horace's *Odes* 1.15 through comparison with the two extant fragments of Alcaeus that touch on the same theme and that are regularly treated in the scholarly context of *Odes* 1.15, namely frr. 42 and 283 Voigt, the latter of which I shall treat first. I will try to show how Sappho differs from Alcaeus in a way that answers to Horace's theme of timing in his *Odes* 1.15 and 4.9.

Alcaeus 283 and Sappho 16: Complying with or Challenging Homer

Alcaeus fr. 283 offers the most complete narrative of the relationship between Helen, Paris, and the Trojan War, and is therefore an apt point of departure for investigating the intertextual relationship between the poems in question. From the beginning of the fragment as it has come down to us, it is clear that someone or something fuels the passion in Helen's heart,[26] so that she 'crazed about the Trojan man, the deceiver of his host, accompanied him over the sea in his ship' (*Τροΐ̃ω<ι> δ' [ἐ]π'ἄν[δρι | ἐκμάνεισα ξ[ϵ.]ναπάτα<ι> 'πὶ π[όντον | ἔσπετο ναΐ̈*, Alc. 283.4–6 Voigt) with devastating consequences for both Trojans and Greeks (cf. Alc. 283.11–18).

The poem has a number of features in common with Sappho fr. 16. To begin with, Paris is not named in Alcaeus, but only referred to by means of periphrasis; in Sappho, his name is left out altogether, either by the poet herself or by the fragmentary state of the poem. By contrast, Helen's name is duly spelled out in both poems (Alc. fr. 283.3, Sappho 16.7), and although Helen is clearly subject to external powers, she appears as a

[25] Sappho and Alcaeus were famously associated with each other from the beginning of their reception, cf. Alc. fr. 384, Arist. *Rh.* 1367a = Sappho fr. 137, and Yatromanolakis (2009). (Is there a hint at this even in Sappho's own poetry? Cf. Sappho fr. 106 Voigt, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 322). In a Roman context, the association between the two is nowhere as strong as in Horace's lyric poetry. Not only are the poets juxtaposed in *Odes* 2.13, but Horace frequently also expresses his pride in Aeolian song or the Lesbian lyre in ways that might refer to Sappho, Alcaeus, or both, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.29–36; 1.32.1–6; *Carm.* 3.30.9–16. On Sappho and Alcaeus in Horace, see Feeney (1993) and Clay (2010).

[26] Page (1955, p. 276) suggests Aphrodite (Kypris) or Eros.

character of considerable agency—a fact which seems to be underscored by Alcaeus' repeated stress on her heart, cf. Alc. fr. 283.4, 9; similarly, Helen's agency is the very precondition of Sappho's entire argument. Consequently, Helen sails off in a ship (cf. Alc. 283.6; Sappho 16.9), leaving behind, in Alcaeus fr. 283.7–8, as already in Homer, her child and husband, adding her parents in Sappho, cf. fr. 16.7–8, 11.

Alcaeus' fragment alone focuses on the ensuing devastation of the Trojan War, thus following the basic shape of events as told in the Homeric poems. However, as already touched upon above, Alcaeus differs from Homer in that his poem tightly connects the erotic passion of Helen with the subsequent death of many of the κ]ασιγνήτων (Alc. fr. 283.12 Voigt, 'brothers') on the Trojan plains. The notion that Helen's love caused the devastating war is expressed most pointedly in the phrase ἔν]νεκα κήνας (Alc. fr. 283.14 Voigt, 'because of her'). Paris appears to be little better than Helen in moral terms, as he is described as ξ[ϵ.]ναπά-τα<ι> (Alc. fr. 283.5 Voigt, 'the deceiver of his host').

In Sappho's fr. 16, a causal relationship between love and war of the kind implied by Alcaeus' fr. 283 is apparently absent. Instead, the poem explores the relationship between love and beauty. Only through love can beauty be truly perceived: such is the fundamental claim of the poem. Sappho's proof is Helen, who abandoned everything for the man she loved and consequently must have found beautiful. From Sappho's perspective, Helen is not out of her mind, as Alcaeus' poem would have it, but rational (cf. Sappho fr. 16.5–6).[27] More importantly, because of Sappho's erotic perspective, the straightforward conception of what happened in the Trojan War, as represented by the Homeric poems and Alcaeus' fr. 283, is challenged. In Sappho's fragment there is love and there is war, and the two phenomena seem to relate to each other not as cause and effect, but as superior and inferior elements in a hierarchy of values.[28]

[27] Thus Sappho strikingly confirms the subjectivity of beauty by claiming firstly that the most beautiful person is the one who is loved (= Paris), although the person he is loved by is conventionally known to be the world's most beautiful woman (= Helen) in fr. 16, and, secondly, that she has loved Atthis, whom she simultaneously describes as small and less attractive in fr. 49, and, finally, by formulating a gnomic truth about the relationship between inner and outer beauty in fr. 50; see also Elisei, Chapter 12, in which frr. 49 and 50 are discussed in the context of beauty, pp. 233, 242.

[28] Famously referred to as Sappho's Nietzschean 'Umwertung aller Werter' ('devaluing of all values') in an article by Wills (1967).

By claiming love's supremacy, Sappho simultaneously trumps the initial order of events in the Homeric tale: in fact, love *did* come first—Helen's love, whether inspired by Aphrodite or Eros—and the war came second. The secondary nature of war, whether it is Trojan, Lydian,[29] or simply epic, is embedded already in the first extant stanza of the poem, where the poet contests the idea that an army can be κάλλιστον (Sappho fr. 16.3 Voigt, 'the most beautiful thing'), since, it is implied, armies are not looked upon with love. Theoretically, the phrase that follows, κῆν ὄτ- | τω τις ἔραται· (Sappho fr. 16.3–4 Voigt, 'whatsoever a person loves') may be taken to be inclusive, and might encompass even the armies in the first stanza. In practice, however, as is demonstrated in the final near-complete stanza of Sappho's extant text, armies are not loved and are consequently not beautiful in the world of Sappho.

The love-versus-war dichotomy is of great relevance to Sappho's Roman reception in the age of Augustus. If love is the ultimate cause of the Trojan War, as suggested in Sappho fr. 16, then this suggestion has a metapoetic potential, towards which a number of the poets of Augustan Rome would display a rare sensibility. Augustan poetics nurtures an obsession with genres and their mutual interdependent enrichment.[30] Within this poetics, various genres are commonly defined in contrast to epic,[31] which is most prominently represented by the theme of war. In Sappho's fr. 16, love and war emerge as a dichotomy, which translates particularly well into Augustan poetics, with its keen interest in generic systems. From a metapoetic point of view, Sappho's fr. 16 appears as a striking statement about the superiority of love—that is, of the world of non-epic poetry. In Harrison's terms, the lyric of Sappho's fr. 16 represents a 'host' genre. In the conventionally humbler, lyrical genre of Sappho's fr. 16, epic, however grand according to the traditional hierarchy of literary genres, represents the '"guest" genre, . . . included in subordinate, modal form for the purposes of perceived expansion and variation of the "host" genre.'[32] Viewed in these terms, Sappho's poem is particularly relevant to the project of Horace's *Odes*, not only because she

[29] Cf. the last, more or less intact stanza of the fragment (Sappho fr. 16.17–20), which refers to the contemporary threat of Lydian soldiers; see Rissman (1983, p. 46).

[30] Harrison (2007).

[31] Thus Morgan (2010, p. 284) demonstrates that virtually all metrical forms other than the one belonging to the epos tend to define themselves precisely against the epic hexameter.

[32] Harrison (2007, p. 21).

represents a natural model for Latin lyric, seeing that she is a Greek lyric poet—but also because she, as an Aeolic one, is the kind Horace strives most keenly to imitate and emulate.

Alcaeus 42, Sappho 16, and *Odes* 1.15 and 4.9: Original Reiterations

From such an Augustan outlook on Sappho fr. 16, the second Alcaean fragment in question, namely 42, fits into a pattern of Aeolic emulation concerning the origins of the Trojan War, to which Horace, as we shall see shortly, naturally contributes. Alcaeus' fr. 42 plays on the notion of an existing tradition in its opening words: *ὡς λόγος* ('as the story goes'). Only the left-hand edge of the poem is preserved, but it provides us with the following information: the poem mentions evils, possibly for Priam, who is mentioned, as well as bitterness from someone, and 'holy Troy.' That the 'someone' from whom the bitterness stems is Helen has been convincingly argued,[33] since the next stanza builds on the preceding by claiming that 'not such was the daughter of Aeacus', Thetis. To her wedding *πάντας ἐς . . . μάκ[αρας* (Alc. fr. 42.6 Voigt, 'all the blessed') were (probably) 'invited', as she was taken from the halls of her father, Nereus, to the dwelling of Chiron, the teacher of her bridegroom Peleus. There is a mention of Thetis' girdle, surely loosened as a symbol of defloration, and before a year had passed, the poem continues, she gave birth to a son, who was to perish with others and their city: *ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι* (Alc. fr. 42.15 Voigt, 'because of He[len]').

Alcaeus' poem includes three details that disturb the overall harmonious depiction of Achilles' parents and their wedding. The first is the very choice of Thetis as a contrast to Helen, the next is the alleged presence of gods at her wedding, and the last is the role of her father, Nereus. To begin with, in Alcaeus fr. 42, Helen clearly functions as a negative contrast to Thetis. The representation of Helen in Alcaeus' fr. 42 is thus in line with the way in which she is characterized in his fr. 283. Here, the 'brothers that the black earth holds on the plain of the Trojans' (Alc. 283.12–13) have been laid low because of Helen (283.14), who thus certainly seems to be to blame for the tragic outcome of her love for Paris.

[33] Page (1955, p. 279).

However, while the choice of Helen as a morally negative example may thus seem fairly justified, Alcaeus' choice of Thetis as Helen's morally positive counterpart is more difficult.[34] In fact, Alcaeus is quite singular in representing the union between Peleus and Thetis as a normal, even idyllic marriage.[35] As has been pointed out,[36] both the stark omission of monstrous elements in the tale of Achilles' parents, such as the wrestling match between the two, during which Thetis assumed bestial and dangerous shapes, and the inclusion of a glaringly euphemistic rephrasing, in which the dwelling of the only half-human centaur Chiron is portrayed as a 'house', strongly attest to Alcaeus' manipulation of the story in this fragment.

Furthermore, according to Alcaeus, 'all the blessed' were (invited) to the wedding of Thetis and Peleus (Alc. fr. 42.6).[37] On this point, Alcaeus agrees with the *Iliad*, in which Hera claims that πάντες θεοί (*Il.* 24.62, 'all the gods') were present at Peleus and Thetis' wedding. From an Augustan point of view, though, it is relevant to recall that, according to Proclus' summary of the *Cypria*, a part of the Epic Cycle composed between the eighth and sixth century BC, Eris, the goddess of strife, arrives at the wedding *after* all the other gods, and provokes the dispute between the goddesses Aphrodite, Hera, and Pallas Athena, which sets in motion the events that lead to the Trojan War.[38] According to this summary of the *Cypria*, then, not all the gods were initially present, as Eris in fact arrived after the wedding celebrations had begun. Although Alcaeus depicts the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as impeccable, the inaccurate πάντας ('all')—in the middle of the wedding celebrations, as it were—seems to betray the fact that the apparently happy occasion is destined to bring about doom, which is confirmed in the last stanza of the fragment as we have it.

Most importantly in the context of the present discussion, Nereus plays an extremely important role in Alcaeus' fr. 42—a role which becomes all the more conspicuous when seen through the lens of *Odes* 1.15. In Alcaeus, Nereus, whose paternal relationship to Thetis is

[34] See e.g. Gomme (1957, pp. 257–8) and Campbell (1982, p. 292).

[35] As attested in ancient vase-paintings, cf. Davies (1986, p. 261, nn. 19 and 20). See also Ovid's full description of Peleus' rape of Thetis at *Met.* 11.221–65.

[36] See preceding note.

[37] Page's supplement for the last two syllables of the very last word quoted.

[38] Cf. Proclus 102, Allen 12–19. I am grateful to Ettore Cingano for this reference.

repeatedly underscored (cf. Alc. fr. 42.11), apparently leads her from his subaquatic dwellings to her new terrestrial home (cf. Alc. fr. 42.7). Now, Nereus *qua* father of the bride behaves precisely as he should; but how can Nereus *qua* prophetic sea-deity with the ability to look into the future give away his daughter in marriage, knowing that it will ultimately lead to such dire fatalities? The question may be out of place in the context of Alcaeus' poem, which does not focus on Nereus' prophetic qualities. However, from a Horatian point of view, which is that of *Odes* 1.15, this is very much the question.[39]

In Horatian scholarship, *Odes* 1.15 has not only been singled out as the rare poem in the *Odes* that makes no reference to the poet's contemporary times; it has also been claimed that the poem is 'unusual in two respects: the prophecy is assigned to Nereus and takes place after the Rape'.[40] Both of these unusual features, however, seem to be highly connected, not only to one another, but also to the very significance of *Odes* 1.15.

First, it is relevant to reflect on the reasons why the prophecy, which fills eight of the nine stanzas of *Odes* 1.15, is assigned to Nereus. Nereus is a prophetic sea-deity like many others. One of the reasons why Nereus is an especially good fit for this poem, however, is the fact (stressed in Alcaeus' fr. 42) that he is also the father of Thetis, and thus the grandfather of Achilles, whose death at the hands of Paris (aided by Apollo, as foreseen at *Il.* 22.358–60) will be one of the most famous consequences of the Trojan War.[41] When Horace's Nereus mentions Achilles in his prophetic speech to Helen and Paris, he only obliquely reveals that the future death of Achilles will represent a personal loss to him, by noting, in a convoluted reference to his grandson, how his famous wrath will only postpone the final destruction of Troy:

> iracunda diem proferet Ilio
> matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei;
> post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
> ignis Iliacas domos.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.33–6

[39] The same question may be implicit in Catull. 64.21, where *pater ipse*, 'the father himself' wants to marry Thetis to Peleus, though there is some dispute over the figure to whom *pater ipse* refers, Jupiter (cf. Catull. 64.27 and 298 and e.g. Godwin 1995, p. 140), or Nereus, cf. Thomson (1997, p. 396).

[40] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970, p. 189).

[41] Davis (1991, p. 26), Lowrie (1997, p. 130).

> The wrath of Achilles' fleet may put off the day of doom for Ilium and the Trojan matrons; yet after the allotted years the fires of Greece shall burn the homes of Ilium.

As Stephen Heyworth has kindly pointed out to me, a subtle reminder to the reader that Nereus is a grandfather, who, as such, gives away his personal investment in the subsequent prophecy, is coded into the very first words of his speech: *mala . . . aui*, which can mean both 'an evil bird', as in 'malevolent auspices', but also[42] 'the sorrows of a grandfather'.[43] Nereus' action as a father giving away his daughter in marriage is also the action that will cause him his greatest woes as a grandfather.

Furthermore, there is the question of how the belatedness of Nereus' warnings in *Odes* 1.15 relates to the background of Alcaeus' fr. 42 as one of its intertexts: although it is now too late, Horace seems in *Odes* 1.15 to give Nereus an opportunity that he should have made use of before—that is, the Alcaean poem we know as fr. 42. The belatedness of the Horatian Nereus' prophecy of Troy's doom seems to be subtly underscored by a set of verbs with an iterative aspect—*repetet* (*Carm.* 1.15.6) and *respicis* (*Carm.* 1.15.20)—and adds metapoetic irony to Nereus' warning to Paris that he himself, *heu serus* (*Carm.* 1.15.19, 'alas, too late'), will have to yield to the call for military action, and be defeated.

The significant metapoetic implications of these features of reiteration and belatedness are particularly important in the context of the present discussion. From a metapoetic perspective, it is tempting to view Alcaeus fr. 42 in an intertextual relationship to Sappho's argument for love's sovereignty, which again can be seen as challenging the straightforward narration of the chain of events in Alcaeus fr. 283. For in fr. 42, Alcaeus takes us to a point in the story that is even more 'original' and goes even further back than the love of Helen, namely Nereus' failure to warn his daughter and Peleus.

When we read Sappho fr. 16 and Alcaeus frr. 42 and 283 as intertexts for Horace's *Odes* 1.15, the Lesbian poets seem to respond intertextually to each other in a contest about origins: not only the origins of the Trojan War, but also, in a broader perspective, the origins of literature, in which

[42] With manipulation of the quanitity of the final –a. For a similar manipulation of vowel quantity for the purposes of word-play, cf. Weiden Boyd (1983).

[43] Cf. Vergil's wordplay on the relationship between Mercury, winged like a bird, and his grandfather Atlas at *Aen.* 4.253 (*Mercurius aui similis*) and 4.258 (*ab auo*).

Homer, he who holds the *priores sedes* (*Carm*. 4.9.5–6, 'the foremost seat'), remains the ultimate origin of inspiration, imitation and emulation. In its turn, *Odes* 1.15 not only follows the lead of Sappho and Alcaeus in responding to Homer by elegantly compressing the narrative of the entire *Iliad*—through Nereus' poetically innovative prophecy—into a lyric form, but also dramatizes the acutely Hellenistic-Augustan consciousness of 'coming after'.[44] In metapoetical terms, the belatedness of Nereus' prophecy mirrors Horace's ambition to emulate poetic predecessors, as well as his awareness of the risk, or even the potential pointlessness, inherent in such an ambition at a juncture in the history of literature when so much has already been done, and done so well.

Horace's *Odes* 1.15 thus appears exemplary of Augustan poetics, in which tension between continuity and innovation converges into 'generic enrichment', motivated by a fundamental urge for poetic immortality. Nereus in this poem aptly embodies all of these metapoetic dynamics. In terms of continuity, he stresses the importance of genealogy, as he is a father and grandfather; on the side of innovation, Nereus claims primacy over Homer for a non-epic genre, as his lyric prophecy takes place before the events chronicled in the Homeric poems; and finally, Nereus embodies an acute anxiety about coming too late, since we all know, Nereus included, that no prophecy will stop Paris and Helen from reaching Troy.

The lexical resemblance in the descriptions of Paris as besmeared with gold (*aurum . . . illitum*, 'smeared gold', *Odes* 4.9.14) and with dust (*puluere collines*, 'you will besmear with dust', *Odes* 1.15.20) not only provides a link between *Odes* 1.15 and 4.9, but also an insight into how these poems interrelate in terms of metapoetics. The link is more significant than it might seem at first glance. The verbs *illino* and *collino* are virtually synonyms, and by echoing each other they link the glamorous start of Paris' affair with Helen to his defiled defeat in the dust when it is all over. By means of inversion, the *first* Horatian poem in which Paris is linked to a compound of the verb *lino,* represents the *end* of his affair with Helen, while Horace's *last* poem in which a compound of the verb is used of Paris, refers to its *beginning*. Fittingly, this minor lexical detail helps to stress a major metapoetic point of timing in *Odes* 1.15 and 4.9,

[44] Hunter (2008).

which is emphasized all the more when the two poems are read in tandem: while Nereus' prophecy in *Odes* 1.15 metapoetically dramatizes the risk of being a latecomer, *Odes* 4.9 dramatizes the risk of arriving too early, as did all the characters who allegedly preceded the first of poets, Homer, and who therefore all perished without record. This perspective, enhanced by the intertextual reading of Horace's models in Sappho and Alcaeus, attractively suggests that the reason why *Odes* 1.15 does not include references to a specific time is because it deals with the very topic of timing in a timeless sense.

Biformis uates—Again

In a well-known paper by Tony Woodman, the 'double-shaped poet' (*biformis uates*) of Horace's *Odes* 2.20.1–2 is evoked in order to stress the way in which both Sappho and Alcaeus contribute to the poet's identity in his *Odes*. Like Woodman's paper and an increasing number of other scholarly works,[45] this chapter seeks to uncover the importance of Sappho in a Horatian context where the influence of Alcaeus is commonly acknowledged. The way in which *Odes* 1.15 is indebted to Alcaeus, especially his fr. 283, is evident even on a lexical level, which is particularly conspicuous in the way in which the word ξ[ε.] *ναπάται* (Alc. 283.5) is allusively evoked in Horace's *perfidus hospitam* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15 'deceiver/adulterous regarding this hostess'). Furthermore, in *Odes* 1.15 the prophetic narration of Nereus is in accord with the linear narrative of events as presented in this same fragment of Alcaeus. Yet, at the same time, the fact that Nereus, a seer of the future, utters the prophecy in *Odes* 1.15 at a most untimely moment, confounds and challenges this linear presentation of the Trojan War in a manner that resembles the literary strategies of Sappho fr. 16.

The point of this chapter is to balance the well-established importance of Alcaeus to Horace against the importance of Sappho, which has hitherto been underestimated. In order to understand Horace's *Odes* 1.15 more profoundly, not as an anomaly, but as emblematic of the metapoetic challenge of the *Odes*, which is ultimately a challenge of

[45] Cf. Campbell (1978), Lowrie (1995, p. 38, n. 16), Barchiesi (2000, pp. 168–70), Peponi (2002, p. 41), Woodman (2002), Di Benedetto (2005), Clay (2010, pp. 140–3), and Hunter, Chapter 8.

timing, Sappho 16 comes to our aid in a way that no poem by Alcaeus does. This is the case not only because the relevance of Sappho 16 to *Odes* 1.15 is suggested already by the thematic link represented by the Trojan War, or because the intertextual relationship between the poems is underscored by Horace himself through retrospective clues in *Odes* 4.9, but most importantly because the literary strategies deployed by Sappho in the face of an imposing predecessor in fr. 16 are key to a profounder understanding of what really is at stake in Horace's *Odes* 1.15. In the former poem, the linear chain of events that unfolds as the Trojan War, confirmed by Homer as well as Alcaeus, is replaced by Sappho's hierarchy of values, an alternative order for the literary cosmos, and this ultimately allows any poet who is also a latecomer, as all poets are after Homer, to defy the chronological lateness of their time and rise to a level of primacy—where the timing miraculously becomes right.

10

Sappho in Propertius?

S. J. Heyworth

Lesbian Antonomasia in Propertius

Propertius refers just once to Sappho, at 2.3.19, in a passage where he describes even Cynthia's physical beauty as taking second place to her artistic and literary accomplishments:

> nec me tam facies, quamuis sit candida, cepit
> (lilia non domina sunt magis alba mea),
> nec de more comae per leuia colla fluentes,
> non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra, faces,
> nec si quando Arabo lucet bombyce papilla
> (non sum de nihilo blandus amator ego);
> quantum quod posito formose saltat Iaccho
> egit ut euhantes dux Ariadna choros,
> et quantum **Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro**
> par Aganippaeae ludere docta lyrae,
> et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
> carminaque Erinnae non putat aequa suis.[1]
>
> Prop. 2.3.9–22

> And it is not so much her beauty that has captured me, though she is fair (lilies are not whiter than my mistress), nor her hair flowing over her smooth neck in customary fashion, not her eyes, twin torches, our lodestars, nor if ever a breast shines in Arabian silk (my rhetorical power as a lover is not over nothing), as much as the fact that she dances beautifully when Iacchus

[1] Texts are as in the Oxford Classical Text (Heyworth 2007a); for discussion, e.g. of the deletion of 2.3.11–12, see Heyworth (2007b, from which the translations are derived too). In verse 22 *Erinnae* is a fifteenth-century conjecture where *quiuis* and *lyrines* (presumably a corruption of *λυρικῆς*) are transmitted.

> [i.e. wine] is served, just as Ariadne the leader drove on the choruses crying 'euhoe', and as much as when she tries songs with the Aeolian plectrum, skilled at playing something equal to the Aganippaean [i.e. the Muses'] lyre, and when she compares her own writings to ancient Corinna, and does not think the poems of Erinna equal to her own.

Even here the reference is indirect, and the 'Aeolian plectrum' could evoke Alcaeus too, but in a passage on a poetic *puella* a reader can hardly not think of Sappho, and the point is compounded when the following couplet refers explicitly to Corinna, and Erinna too, if the most plausible solution to the crux in 22 is on the right lines. In contrast to the direct naming of Corinna the use of antonomasia to refer to Sappho may imply her familiarity.[2] But is there any evidence that Sappho was more to Propertius than an example of a poetess? And secondly, is there any evidence that he had read and exploited her poetry in his?

Firstly, let us look at other possible evocations. We may compare the references to Philitas: *Cous* is used to refer to the elegist at 3.1.1 *Coi sacra Philitae*, and probably 3.9.44, *cecinisse modis, Coe*[3] *poeta, tuis*. But in addition, when the elegist speaks of Coan cloth, he seems to wish us to think of the text woven by the Coan poet Philitas, just as Callimachus had done in fr. 532, according to Pfeiffer's brilliant exposition of the tiny fragment: *τῶι ἴκελον τὸ γράμμα τὸ Κώιον* ('like this is the Coan text'). Compare these lines by Propertius:

> siue illam **Cois** fulgentem incedere cerno,
> totum de **Coa** ueste uolumen erit; . . .
>
> Prop. 2.1.5–6

> If I observe her out for a walk gleaming in Coan silks, the whole roll will be about [*and* of] Coan cloth; . . .

and:

> qui uersus **Coae** dederit nec munera uestis,
> istius tibi sit surda sine aere lyra.
>
> Prop. 4.5.57–8

[2] For detailed examination of the device in Latin poetry, see Farrell (1991, pp. 33–60).

[3] *dure* is transmitted, but that comes from reminiscence of Prop. 2.34.44: the context demands a reference to an elegist to pair with Callimachus in the hexameter, whereas *dure* would imply, but not specify, an epic poet.

As to the man who has given verses, and not gifts, of Coan cloth, you should be deaf to his lyre that comes without cash.

These clear allusions in later books serve to gloss the instance at 1.2.1–2, where Propertius seems to be reflecting both on Cynthia's enthusiasm for dressing up expensively and his own adornment of her in artful elegy, a garb borrowed from his Hellenistic predecessor:

Quid iuuat ornato procedere, uita, capillo
et tenues **Coa** ueste mouere sinus,
aut quid **Orontea** crines perfundere murra,
teque peregrinis uendere muneribus?

Prop. 1.2.1–4

What, my life, is the use of appearing with your hair well-dressed and of moving the fine folds of a Coan garment? Or why drench your hair in Orontean myrrh and deck yourself out for sale in foreign goods?

In such a context *Orontea*[4] too may be read as a pointer to Meleager, the epigrammatist from Syria, whose poem, now *Anth. Pal.* 12.101, was the basis of the first four lines of poem 1.1. Given such practices we should look at instances of epithets that might without direct reference to the poetess call her to mind. The form *Lesbia* occurs three times. Twice it is the name, used to refer to the *puella* of Catullus:

haec eadem iam ante illam impune et **Lesbia** fecit:
quae sequitur, certe est inuidiosa minus.

Prop. 2.32.45–6

Lesbia too did the same things with impunity already before her: the one who follows is surely less deserving of opprobrium.

And:

sic quoque lasciui cantarunt scripta Catulli,
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.

Prop. 2.34.87–8

So too did the writings of playful Catullus sing, through which Lesbia is better known than Helen herself.

[4] Stephen Harrison points out that the epithet occurs nowhere else in Classical Latin, so it can hardly be a conventional epithet.

Indirectly that evokes Sappho, of course; and that may be as far as we should go, though the notion of comparing the beloved to Helen is one that we find in Sappho's own work, at fr. 23.3–6:[5]

ὠς γὰρ ἄν]τιον εἰσίδω σ[ϵ,
φαίνεταί μ᾽ οὐδ᾽] Ἑρμιόνα τεαυ[τα
ἔμμεναι,] ξάνθαι δ᾽ Ἐλέναι σ᾽ ἐίσ[κ]ην
οὐδ᾽ ἔν ἄϵι]κϵς

Sappho fr. 23.3–6 Voigt[6]

[For as] I look at you face to face, [not even] Hermione [seems to me to be] such [a woman], but [it would not be un]seemly to compare you to blonde Helen.

The third instance refers to wine:

Tu licet abiectus Tiberina molliter unda
Lesbia Mentoreo uina bibas opere,
et modo tam celeres mireris currere lintres
et modo tam tardas funibus ire rates;
et nemus omne altas tibi tendat uertice siluas[7]
urgetur quantis Caucasus arboribus;
non tamen ista meo ualeant contendere amori:
nescit Amor magnis cedere diuitiis.

Prop. 1.14.1–8

Though you lie luxuriously by the water of the Tiber and drink Lesbian wines from Mentorean ware, and you watch with pleasure as now skiffs run so swiftly and now barges move so slowly on their cables; and though the whole grove stretches your woods high with their tops, like the trees with which the Caucasus is burdened; yet these pleasures of yours could not compete with my love: Amor does not know how to yield to great wealth.

Tullus, the addressee, is in this poem, as in 1.6, set up as the antithesis of the love elegist: note in particular 7–8, where *ista* stands in opposition to *meo amori*, *Amor* to *magnis diuitiis*. It is thus hard to see *Lesbia* as connecting Tullus with Sappho, the archetypal lyric poet of Love. Wine from Lesbos had a good reputation, as the commentators show;[8] inevitably it is an *appellation* to which Horace refers:

[5] Cf. also Thorsen, Chapter 9, p. 172, n. 19 and Sappho fr. 16.15–16, cited below.
[6] Supplements as in Campbell (1982).
[7] *altas tibi tendat* Barber : *satas intendat Ω*.
[8] e.g. Enk (1946 *ad* Prop. 1.14.2), Nisbet and Hubbard (1970 *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.25).

capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos
et Chia uina aut **Lesbia**.

Hor. *Epod.* 9.34

Bring more generous cups here, boy, together with Chian wine or Lesbian.

Here the pairing with Chian removes the metapoetic charge;[9] but it is very obvious[10] at Horace's *Odes* 1.17: *hic innocentis pocula* ***Lesbii*** | *duces* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.21–2 'you can drink cups of harmless Lesbian here', i.e. 'you can enjoy poetry in imitation of Sappho and Alcaeus in this book'). Reference to Lesbian wine may be innocent then, but can be loaded. In Propertius 1.14.1–2 the presence of *molliter* suggests to me that we should find an evocation of the poetess of love: *mollis* is very frequently used to evoke the style of love elegy (sometimes in direct contrast to *durus*)[11], e.g. at Prop. 1.7.19: *cupies mollem componere uersum* ('you will want to compose elegiac verse', Prop.1.7.19), and:

Quaeritis, unde mihi totiens scribantur amores,
unde meus ueniat mollis in ora liber.

Prop. 2.1.1–2

You ask how it happens that so often I write of love affairs, how my book comes in elegiac form on to people's lips.

and:

mollia, Pegasides, date uestro serta poetae:
non faciet capiti dura corona meo.

Prop. 3.1.19–20

Daughters of Pegasus, give your poet a soft garland: an epic wreath will not do for my head.

We might see the phrase *Lesbia uina* as more evocative of Alcaeus, the enthusiastic drinker; in that case Tullus is perhaps playing the part of an Horatian symposiast, a creature alien to love elegy, and thus for

[9] Unless perhaps we see him as adumbrating a move either to Homeric epic, or (as will transpire) to lyric in the style of Alcaeus and Sappho. Watson (2003, *ad loc.*) notes that the pairing is found already in Callim. fr. 399, and both feature in a list at Plaut. *Poen.* 699.

[10] Especially after the antonomasia *fide Teia* ('Teian [i.e. Anacreon's] lyre') in verse 18.

[11] Compare Hunter's discussion of the literary qualities of *γλαφυρία* ('elegance') and *αὐστηρία* ('austerity') in the context of Sappho and the legacy of archaic lyric in Chapter 8, pp. 156–7.

Propertius alien to love. A further complication comes, however, if (as Stephen Harrison suggests to me) we link Tullus's activity in 1.14.3–4, watching boats, with one of the sights offered as beautiful to some in Sappho's famous priamel:

> *O*]*ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἰ δὲ πέσδων,*
> *οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ*[*ὶ*] *γᾶν μέλαι*[*ν*]*αν*
> *ἔ*]*μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-*
> *τω τις ἔραται*
>
> Sappho fr. 16.1–4 Voigt

Some say that a squadron of cavalry, others of infantry, and others of ships, is the most beautiful thing on the dark earth, but I say it is that which one loves.

Without the adjective *Lesbia*, the link could not be found, but the presence of so freely chosen an epithet should be allowed to bring meaning. Perhaps then we should envisage Tullus using his wealth to try and counterfeit the behaviour of the lover: he drinks wine evocative of Sappho, but what he really enjoys (like Sappho's 'others') is the sight of passing boats, fast or slow, or a grand stand of planted trees. Amor is something quite different, and that Tullus (as the 'other' of Propertius 1)[12] does not begin to understand. In what follows, in contrast to Sappho, Propertius does not use *ego* of himself, but runs through other parts of the pronoun and the possessive: *meo* (7), *mecum* (9), *mihi* (11), *mihi . . . mea* (13), *me* (14), *mihi* (16), *mihi* (23). For once the beloved is not named; she is introduced with *illa* (9), a choice perhaps designed to echo Sappho's even vaguer *κῆνο*.[13] Moreover, Propertius uses no first person verb in the poem until the final couplet:

> quae mihi dum placata aderit, non Lyda uerebor
> regna uel Alcinoi munera despicere.
>
> Prop. 1.14.23–4

While she comes to me in a good mood, I shall not fear to despise the Lydian kingdom [i.e. of Croesus] or the riches of Alcinous.

[12] He appears also in 1.1 and 1.22, a fairly neutral addressee, but he certainly has the role of 'other' in 1.6, where he sets out to govern an Eastern province as part of his uncle's cohort: see further Heyworth (2007c, pp. 95–8).

[13] The instances of *illa* in 17, 18, 19 properly refer, in hymnic 'Er-Stil', to Venus, but she can hardly be differentiated from Cynthia in such a context (cf. the careful confusion of Cynthia and Amor in Prop. 1.1.3).

This moment thus recalls Sappho's return to her own state after the account of Helen's preference for love over family:

]με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας ὀ]νέμναι-
σ' οὐ] παρεοίσας.
τᾶ]ς <κ>ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἀν ὅπλοισι
πεσδομ]άχεντας.[14]

Sappho fr. 16.15–20 Voigt

. . . reminding me now of Anactorie in her absence; I would rather see her lovely walk and the bright sparkle of her face than the chariots of the Lydians and foot-soldiers under arms.

Propertius inverts the hypothetical situation, by having Venus/Cynthia present rather than absent, and then actively despises the alternatives. Whereas Sappho repeats, with variation, the first two items from the opening priamel, he brings in a new pair, evocative of Herodotean history and Odyssean epic. I say 'Herodotean', but *Lyda* is Markland's conjecture for the transmitted *ulla*: I argued for the conjecture (*Cynthia*, *ad loc.*) as providing the needed precision and balance, and evoking not only Croesus' wealth, but also the enthusiasm for power and Asia attributed to Tullus in Prop. 1.6. Now it appears that *Lyda* has another virtue: if correct, it confirms the allusion to Sappho's poem.

Loci similes or Allusions to Sappho?

The references to Sappho and to things Lesbian demonstrate that Propertius is aware of her poetry, as of course he must be, living in a world where Horace is writing the *Odes* and Ovid is commending Sappho to his readers as promoting an erotic sensibility.[15] Things are trickier when we broaden the hunt for allusions.

One place we might hope for success is in Prop. 2.3, the poem where Sappho is referred to in the phrase *Aeolio plectro*. There are some details that are common to Sappho and this poem (as I would call the sequence

[14] For the preceding part of the fragment, see p. 190 and Thorsen, Chapter 9, p. 167.
[15] *Ars* 3.331, *Rem. am.* 761.

that extends as far as verse 44). For example, this is one of the places where Propertius compares Cynthia to Helen:

> nec semper nobiscum humana cubilia uises:
> post Helenam haec terris forma secunda redit.
> hac ego nunc mirer si flagrat nostra iuuentus?
> pulchrius hac fuerat, Troia, perire tibi.
> olim mirabar quod tanti ad Pergama belli
> Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit.
> nunc, Pari, tu sapiens et tu, Menelae, fuisti,
> tu quia poscebas, tu quia lentus eras.
> digna quidem facies pro qua uel obiret Achilles;
> uel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit.
>
> Prop. 2.3.31–40

> And you will not always come to a human bed with us: after Helen, this form returns to earth a second time. Should I now feel amazement if our youth is inflamed by this? It would have been prettier for you to perish for this, Troy. I used to be amazed that the cause of so great a war at Pergamum for Europe and Asia was a girl. Now, Paris, you were wise, and so were you, Menelaus, the one because you demanded her, the other because you were obstinate. The beauty certainly deserved that even Achilles die for it; even by Priam was it fit to be approved as a cause of war.

The passage that mentions the *Aeolium plectrum* does so to praise Cynthia for her poetic ability, something that Sappho has apparently hailed in her addressee too:

> οὐδ᾽ ἴαν δοκίμωμι προσίδοισαν φάος ἀλίω
> ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς οὐδένα πω χρόνον
> τεαύταν.
>
> Sappho fr. 56 Voigt

> I do not think any girl looking on the light of the sun will have such wisdom [*probably* poetic ability] at any future time.

Compare Propertius 2.3.19–22, the climax of the long sentence that begins with verse 9:

> nec me tam facies, quamuis sit candida, cepit
> . . .
> quantum Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro
> par Aganippaeae ludere docta lyrae,
> et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
> carminaque Erinnae non putat aequa suis.
>
> Prop. 2.3.9, 19–22

> And it is not her beauty that has captured me, though she is fair . . . so much as when she tries songs with the Aeolian plectrum, skilled at playing something equal to the Muses' lyre, and when she compares her own writings to ancient Corinna, and does not think the poems of Erinna equal to her own.

Sappho's fragment 167 Voigt *ὠίω πόλυ λευκότερον* offers us a comparison in whiteness—to an egg; and Propertius at 2.3.10 *lilia non domina sunt magis alba mea* finds his mistress's 'whiteness superior to lilies'. These are both common and accessible similes, and as often when there are such similarities, we simply do not have enough of the Sapphic context to know whether more might be going on. A poem in which the poet praises the beauty and accomplishment of his mistress necessarily has conventional elements, and thus necessarily shares them with others who have written similar pieces, Sappho among them; but with the antonomasia *Aeolio plectro* the poem refers to Sappho, and so the coincidences of motif are marked: in this poem if anywhere we might expect to find a Propertian reception of Sappho.

If we consider the passages of Sappho that are cited as parallels in the Propertian commentaries, we see other instances of conventional material.[16] For example, Propertius 1.6.35–6 expresses the wish of the speaker of a propempticon to be remembered by the departing addressee:

> tum tibi si qua mei ueniet non immemor hora,
> uiuere me duro sidere certus eris.

> Then if any hour comes to you not entirely forgetful of me, you can be certain that I live under a dark star.[17]

The sentiment is shared with a couple of lines in Sappho's propempticon:[18]

> *χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν*
> *μέμναισ', οἶσθα γὰρ ὤς <σ>ε πεδήπομεν.*
>
> Sappho fr. 94.7–8 Voigt

> Go and fare well, and remember me, for you know how we cared for you.

[16] Particularly useful here are Fedeli's four exhaustive commentaries (Fedeli 1980–2015).

[17] Cf. also Prop. 1.8.17–20, which pray for fair weather for the departing Cynthia, an expanded version of Sappho's *χαίροισ' ἔρχεο*.

[18] Cf. also Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 51 and Elisei, Chapter 12, pp. 243–4.

But I can find nothing else that the poems have in common. Such a judgement cannot be made in the case of fragment 38, which contains just two words: ὄπταις ἄμμε ('you roast us'). The vocabulary of cooking becomes commonplace for the effects of love, as in Horace *Odes* 1.13.[19] So even if more survived, one doubts that there would be much to make of the relationship with Propertius 3.6: *me quoque consimili impositum torrerier*[20] *igni* | *iurabo* (Prop. 3.6.39–40, 'that I too am being roasted, placed on a similar fire, I shall swear'). However, if the subject in the Sappho poem was Aphrodite, as seems quite likely, that would make for a possible reminiscence in a second Propertian line: *correptus saeuo Veneris torrebar aeno* (Prop. 3.24.13, 'I was seized and roasted in Venus' savage cauldron').

Also insubstantial is the link between ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα at fr. 16.17 (cited in context above, p. 191) and the *formosos pedes* in this Propertian couplet:

> sic mihi te referas, leuis, ut non altera nostro
> limine formosos intulit ulla pedes.
>
> Prop. 1.18.11–12
>
> May you, o fickle one, restore yourself to me just as surely as no other woman has brought her shapely feet in by way of our threshold.

Lovely walk, beautiful feet; but the context is quite different: the reference in the elegist is not to the feet of an addressee, and there is no equivalent to Sappho's striking phrase ἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον προσώπω (Sappho fr. 16.18 Voigt, 'the bright shining of her face'). Perhaps the most suggestive Sappho fragment that is associated with Propertius by Fedeli is the following, a passage of Libanius (*Or.* 12.99):

> εἰ οὖν Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν εὔξασθαι νύκτα αὐτῇ γενέσθαι διπλασίαν, . . . Sappho fr. 197 Voigt
>
> If then nothing prevented Sappho, the Lesbian, from praying that her night be doubled in length, . . .

In 3.20 Propertius simply wishes for the sun to yield space for night, and then for the moon to linger:

> tu quoque, qui aestiuos spatiosius exigis ignes,
> Phoebe, moraturae contrahe lucis iter;

[19] See e.g. West (1967, pp. 65–71); and Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.33.6.
[20] *torrerier* Palmerius : *torquerier Ω*.

nox mihi prima uenit: primae da tempora nocti.
longius in primo, luna, morare toro.

Prop. 3.20.11–14

You too, Phoebus, who drive your summer fires on a broader course, contract the path of your light that would linger; a first night is coming for me: give up time for the first night. Moon, linger longer over a first bed.

Such details could well have appeared in the Sapphic poem, if the notion of an extended night was developed at length; and she might conceivably have referred to the tradition that Zeus added two nights together when he was with Alcmene, a myth that Propertius introduces in a quite different context:

Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieuerat Arctos,
et caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit.
nec tamen idcirco languens ad fulmina uenit:
nullus amor uires eripit ipse suas.

Prop. 2.22.25–8

Jupiter long ago rested the twin Bears [*and* went to bed for two Bears, i.e. nights] for Alcmene, and the sky was twice without its ruler for a night. Yet he did not therefore return enfeebled to his thunderbolts: no love snatches away its own strength.

However, in some of the places where we do have a little more context or detail in a Sapphic poem, the effect is to separate the Greek text from passages of Propertius that one might have linked with single phrases. The moon is prominent in both poets, used by Propertius from 1.1 on as a fitting association with Cynthia. But there is nothing in the elegist similar to the setting of these lines of Sappho:

πλήρης μὲν ἐφαίνετ᾽ ἀ σελάν<ν>α,
αἰ δ᾽ ὡς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν

Sappho fr. 154 Voigt

Full shone the moon when the women took their stand around the altar.

Nor does he ever directly compare Cynthia to the moon, as Sappho does her addressee in fr. 96:

νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί-
κεσσιν ὤς ποτ᾽ ἀελίω
δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος <σελάννα>
πάντα περ<ρ>έχοισ᾽ ἄστρα· . . .

Sappho fr. 96.6–9 Voigt

> But now she shines amid the Lydian women as sometimes the rosy-fingered moon when the sun is set, outdoing all the stars.

However, the reddening of the moon implied by *ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα* is a detail shared, as Fedeli notes, with Propertius 1.10:

> quamuis labentes premeret mihi somnus ocellos
> et mediis caelo **luna ruberet** equis,
> non tamen a uestro potui secedere lusu.
>
> Prop. 1.10.7–9

> Though my eyelids were closing and sleep was pressing down on them, and the moon was reddening, her horses midway across the sky, yet I could not part from your play.

The shaping of the Propertian sentence has something in common with another Sapphic fragment, 168b:

> *Δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα*
> *καὶ Πληΐαδες μέσαι δὲ*
> *νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὤρα,*
> *ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.*

> The moon has set and the Pleiades; it is midnight, time passes by, but I sleep alone.

It is just possible that we should read it as a combination of these two models (96.8 and 168b). Sappho expresses herself paratactically in the latter, Propertius with a concessive clause; in each case the hours of night are passing, there is mention of midnight—and then the elegist inverts the model, if such it is: far from sleeping alone, he cannot part from the scene of love between Gallus and his girl.

A couplet from 1.16, the Propertian paraclausithyron, also shares some details from this stanza of Sappho: *mediae noctes* and *iacentem*; but Hellenistic epigram may mediate any connexion:[21]

> me mediae noctes, me sidera prona iacentem,
> frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu.
>
> Prop. 1.16.23–4

[21] Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.23, 164, 167, 189, 191; there are of course likely to have been more epigrams on the theme, now lost.

Midnight feels my pain, and the setting stars as I lie here, and the wind cold with the frost of dawn.

Sappho describes a girl as *πάρθενον ἀδύφωνον* ('sweet-voiced') in an isolated fragment (153); we can therefore not judge what contribution it might have made to Propertius 1.12:

nec mihi consuetos amplexu nutrit amores
Cynthia nec nostra dulcis in aure sonat,

Prop. 1.12.5–6

Nor does she nourish my love as usual with her embrace, nor does Cynthia sound sweet in our ear.

A rather more substantial piece of Sappho is fragment 2:[22]

δεῦρύ μ᾽ ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπ[ὶ τόνδ]ε ναῦον
ἄγνον, ὄππ[αι τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
νοι [λι]βανώτωι·
ἐν δ᾽ ὔδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι᾽ ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὸ χῶρος
ἐσκίαστ᾽, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα κατέρρει·
ἐν δὲ λείμων ἰππόβοτος τέθαλεν
ἠρινίοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ᾽ ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [

Sappho fr. 2.1–11[23]

Hither for me from Crete to this holy shrine, where you have a delightful grove of apple-trees, and altars smoking with incense. There cool water sounds amidst apple-branches, and the whole place is shaded by roses, and as the leaves shimmer sleep flows down. There a horse-grazing meadow is in bloom with the flowers of spring, and the breezes blow softly [

The *locus amoenus* here described to Cypris has details in common with the Elysian fields of Cynthia's Underworld, with water, breezes, and roses:

ecce coronato pars altera uecta phaselo
mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas.

Prop. 4.7.59–60

[22] See also Hunter, Chapter 8, p. 154.
[23] Text and supplements as in Campbell (1982).

> Look, the remainder are carried in a garlanded yacht to where the hallowed breeze caresses the roses of Elysium.

These seem conventional, though only roses are present in Tibullus' equivalent (Tib. 1.3.62) and only water in the closing section of *Aeneid* 6.637–751. There would be a point to Cynthia constructing her erotic Elysium using material drawn from the archetypal erotic poetess, material moreover that describes a shrine of Aphrodite. And if Propertius has not left any clear pointers that we can see in the Elysium passage, there is an odd detail later in the poem, where Cynthia's language in describing the orchards of Tibur has caused critics to question the text of the verse *ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat aruis* (Prop. 4.7.81, 'where the apple-producing Anio floods the branchy fields', used to define the site Cynthia wishes for her monument). For my part I find the phrase *ramosis aruis* an evocative description of an orchard, and privileging the branches in this way helps recall verses 5–6 of the Sappho fragment, which also bring together in a very few words flowing water, apple-trees and branches.

Also substantial is Sappho, fragment 58.11–22, the text about aging that the Cologne Papyrus has now enabled scholars to reconstruct:

ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
τὰ]ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·
] ποτ᾽ [ἔ]οντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη
ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν.
βάρυς δέ μ᾽ ὀ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ᾽ [ο]ὐ φέροισι,
τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ᾽ ἔον ὄρχησθ᾽ ἴσα νεβρίοισι.
τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;
ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ᾽ οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.
καὶ γάρ π[ο]τα Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Ἄὔων
ἔρωι φ..αθεισαν βάμεν᾽ εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν,
ἔοντα [κ]άλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ᾽ αὖτον ὔμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνωι πόλιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ᾽ ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν. ⊗

Sappho fr. 58 Voigt[24]

> . . . the fine gifts of the dark-bosomed <Muses>, children . . . the clear song-loving lyre . . . flesh once <?> now old age . . . hair became <white> from black. My heart has been made heavy, my knees do not carry me, which once danced lightly as fawns. Often I groan at this, but what am I to do? Being mortal it is not possible to be unaging. For once, they used to say, rosy-armed Dawn, <?struck> by love went bearing Tithonus to the furthest

[24] Supplemented by the new papyrus, as in Obbink (2009).

parts of the earth, when he was a handsome young man, but in time grey old age laid hands on him though he had an immortal wife.

On the face of it, one would expect this to have had a direct influence on a passage in Propertius 2.18 that relates the aging of the poet to the fate of Tithonus:

quid mea si iam actis aetas canesceret[25] annis 5
et faceret scissas languida ruga genas?
at non Tithoni spernens Aurora senectam
desertum Eoa passa iacere domo. 8
illa deos currum conscendens dixit iniquos, 13[26]
inuitum et terris praestitit officium. 14
illum saepe suis descendens[27] fouit in undis 9
nec[28] prius abiunctos[29] sedula lauit equos. 10
illum ad uicinos cum amplexa quiesceret Indos,
maturos iterum est questa redire dies. 12
cui maiora senis Tithoni gaudia uiui 15
quam grauis amisso Memnone luctus erat.
cum sene non puduit talem dormire puellam
et canae totiens oscula ferre comae.
at tu etiam iuuenem odisti me, perfida, cum sis
ipsa anus haud longa curua futura die. ⊗ 20

Prop. 2.18.5–20

What if my life were growing white with the years already passed and a loose wrinkle were making my cheeks furrowed? But Aurora did not reject the old age of Tithonus and allow him to lie alone in her eastern home. She called the gods unfair as she climbed into her chariot, and performed her duty unwillingly for the earth. Him, descending, she often warmed in her waters and did not first carefully unyoke and wash her horses. Him when she embraced, resting by the neighbouring Indians, she complained that the days were returning again too early. Her joys in the old Tithonus while he lived were greater than her bitter grief over the loss of Memnon. Such a girl did not feel shame to sleep with an old man and so often to give kisses to his white hair. But you hate me even as a young man, you traitress, although you are yourself to be a bent old woman at no distant time.

Yet I cannot find anything to show the relationship is a direct one. The elegist develops the myth further, stressing at length Aurora's continuing

[25] *mea si iam actis aetas canesceret* Heyworth : *mea si canis aetas canesceret* N (*candesceret* Heinsius) : *si iam canis aetas mea caneret ΠΛ*.
[26] 13–14 ante 9 Burman.
[27] *descendens* Markland : *decedens Ω*.
[28] *nec* Postgate : *quam Ω*.
[29] *abiunctos* Scaliger : *adiunctos Ω*.

love for her husband; his account concentrates on their everyday life together, and how Aurora persisted in showing him her affection even as he grew old; whereas Sappho focuses on the original seizure of the mortal man, and uses the pairing of mortal and immortal to bring out the inevitability of old age for mortals. The *exemplum* is used repeatedly in ancient poetry,[30] and it seems as though Propertius does not have Sappho in mind; he perhaps responds rather to the passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* where Aphrodite describes to Anchises the quasi-divine beauty of other members of the Trojan royal house, Ganymede and then Tithonus, who comes to serve as a model for how Anchises should not live out his life:[31]

ὣς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἤρπασεν Ἠώς
ὑμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.
βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα
ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα·
τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήηνεν ἐέλδωρ.
νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἠὼς
ἤβην αἰτῆσαι ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοιόν.
τὸν δ' ἦ τοι εἵως μὲν ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἥβη,
Ἠοῖ τερπόμενος χρυσοθρόνῳ, ἠριγενείῃ
ναίε παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῇς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρῶται πολιαὶ κατέχυντο ἔθειραι
καλῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐηγενέος τε γενείου,
τοῦ δ' ἤτοι εὐνῆς μὲν ἀπείχετο πότνια Ἠώς,
αὐτὸν δ' αὖτ' ἀτίταλλεν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔχουσα
σίτῳ τ' ἀμβροσίῃ τε καὶ εἵματα καλὰ διδοῦσα.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν,
οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι,
ἥδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.
τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς
ἔσθ' οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.

Hom. Hymn Aph. 218–38

So too did golden-throned Eos snatch Tithonus, one of your race, a man like the immortals. She went to ask the son of Cronus, god of the dark cloud, that

[30] Another possible model is Mimnermus: fragment 4 refers directly to the gift to Tithonus of immortal old age, and other pieces (especially 5) are concerned with the ills of old age.

[31] Allusion to the Hymn is certainly to be found in Prop. 2.32.33–40: see Heyworth (2007b, *ad loc.*).

> he be immortal and live for ever; Zeus nodded at her in agreement and granted her wish. But Eos was foolish and did not think in her mind to ask for youth and to ward off destructive old age. While much-desired youth held him, taking pleasure in golden-throned, spring-born Eos, he lived by the streams of Ocean at the end of the earth. But when first grey hairs fell from his handsome head and his noble chin, the lady Eos kept away from his bed, but she still cherished him in the house, with food and ambrosia, and giving him fine clothes. But when hateful old age overwhelmed him totally, and he was not able to move or lift his limbs at all, the best plan seemed to her heart to be this: she put him in a chamber, and set the shining door together. His voice flows on unquenched, but he has no strength such as there was once in his supple [*or* bent] limbs.

Propertius' Aurora and Tithonus continue to sleep together, whereas in the Hymn she avoids his bed and eventually shuts him away (contrast especially 2.18.7–8); it is her pleasure that the text mentions (*gaudia*, 15), unlike in the Hymn, where it is his (τερπόμενος, 226); and *curua* of Cynthia (20) seems to respond to ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν of Tithonus (238). Moreover, in the elegist Aurora felt no shame (*non puduit*, 17) to sleep with her husband, in contrast to Aphrodite, who forecasts the 'great dishonour' (μέγ' ὄνειδος, 247) she herself will experience among the gods because of Anchises.

Sappho, Cynthia, and *doctae puellae*

The harvest of possible allusions is thus small and for the most part uncertain, even though Propertius is living in a period where Sappho must have been available, in a culture where there was enthusiasm for her work. He refers to her directly, and perhaps indirectly too; they share many subjects—love, the pain it brings, the beauty that inspires it; topics such as *militia amoris*, just touched on in Sappho;[32] and the divine inspiration of the love poet and the immortality that results; despite all this shared material, there is no clear-cut instance of allusion, no point where we can assert with complete confidence that the Latin poet is treating the Greek as a model. Perhaps this is just an accident of the miserably lacunose state of our text of Sappho; but possibly Propertius did not wish to emphasize that the model of Horace was important to

[32] e.g. in σύμμαχος, addressed to Aphrodite at Sappho fr. 1.28; cf. Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 63.

him too.[33] Why then the reference to the 'Aeolian plectrum' in 2.3? This poem, with its other possible evocations of Sappho, is the fullest account of the attractions of Cynthia: Sappho is a model for her, not for Propertius himself. Interesting to reflect then that another poem where I have found possibilities of allusion to Sappho is 4.7, almost all of which is spoken by Cynthia.

There is also considerable overlap of thought in two fragmentary pieces, Propertius 2.11:

> scribant de te alii, uel sis ignota licebit:
> laudet qui sterili semina ponit humo.
> omnia, crede mihi, tecum uno munera lecto
> auferet extremi funeris atra dies;
> et tua transibit contemnens ossa uiator,
> nec dicet 'cinis hic docta puella fuit'.
>
> Prop. 2.11

Others may write about you, or you may remain unknown (that will be fine): let the man praise you who places seeds in unproductive soil. Believe me, all the gifts will be carried off with you on a single bier at the end on the black day of your funeral; and the traveller will ignore your bones as he passes, and not say, 'This ash was once a poetic girl'.

and Sappho 55:[34]

> *κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσηι οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν*
> *ἔσσετ' οὐδὲ πόθα εἰς ὔστεροὐ γὰρ πεδέχηις βρόδων*
> *τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κἀν Ἄίδα δόμωι*
> *φοιτάσηις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.*
>
> Sappho fr. 55 Campbell

You will lie dead and there will be no memory of you nor any longing in the future. For you have no share of the roses of Pieria [i.e. of the Muses], but without a trace in the house of Hades too you will wander among the insubstantial shades, having flown away.

Though the diction is not especially close (even *ignota* seems distant from *ἀφάνης* when it precedes all reference to death), the thought of verses 3–6 in the Propertius passage is very like that in the Sappho:

[33] See Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 91–2.

[34] Though the link is not regularly picked up by commentators, Hertzberg (1845) is one who identifies the similarity of thought. For this fragment in a Lucretian context, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 72.

κατθάνοισα is expanded into verse 4, and the indifferent passing of the traveller gives new life to the lack of memorial—Cynthia will be mere bones, a typically Propertian version of the flitting shade imagined by Sappho. And underlying both pieces is the absence of poetry in the lives of the neglected dead-to-be. In the case of the Greek poem, we can see this not only in the Pierian roses that the addressee misses out on, but also in the introductions of the fragment in Stobaeus (3.4.12; in the section on folly), Σαπφοῦς πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον γυναῖκα ('Sappho to an uneducated woman'), and Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 3.1.2 (646E), πρός τινα τῶν ἀμούσων καὶ ἀμαθῶν γυναικῶν ('to a woman lacking culture or education').[35] Without our being able to identify the word used by the poetess here, it seems plausible to surmise that there was some model for *nec . . . docta puella fuit*.[36]

Here, I suggest, is the most important influence of Sappho on Propertius.[37] He it is who develops the notion of the *puella* as *docta*, as a poetess in her own right.[38] Catullus casts his girl as a critical reader, especially in poem 36, where she vows to burn the *electissima pessimi poetae scripta*, if Catullus is restored to her and stops hurling *iambi* (Catull. 36.4–8),[39] and his friend Caecilius is said to have won the love of his girlfriend when she read his unfinished poem on the *Dindymi domina* (Catull. 35.11–18)—she thus gains the description *Sapphica puella musa doctor* ('a girl more educated than the Sapphic Muse'). But Lesbia is not herself presented as

[35] At Plut. *Coniug. Praec.* 48 (146A), the lines are said to have been addressed 'to a rich woman' (πρός τινα πλουσίαν); for the full quotation, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 351.

[36] Possibly this is the poem that inspired Catullus to talk at 35.16–17 of Caecilius' girlfriend as *Sapphica puella* | *musa doctior* ('girl more educated than the Muse of Sappho'); the combination of reference and apparent allusion at least suggests that something in Sappho's diction inspired Roman poets to respond with *doctus*. See also Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 99–101.

[37] Thea S. Thorsen rightly emphasized the importance of this at the conference. I am most grateful to her and to Stephen Harrison for the invitation to speak, as well as their various contributions to improving the paper.

[38] One earlier model is of course Sempronia in Sallust *Cat.* 25: note in particular the phrase *litteris Graecis Latinis docta*, followed immediately by *psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae*, which implies that active participation in arts is in the historian's mind. For a variety of responses to the phrase *docta puella* in 2.11.6, see Wyke (1987, p. 54 = 2002, pp. 60–2), Lyne (1998, pp. 33–4 = 2007, p. 246), Habinek (1998, pp. 128–9), and (more generally) Laigneau (1999, pp. 65–92) and James (2003, pp. 21–8).

[39] See Gram, Chaper 5, pp. 116–17.

a writer. Contrast the account of Cynthia that provides the climax of Propertius 1.2:

> uni si qua placet, culta puella sat est;
> cum tibi praesertim Phoebus sua carmina donet
> Aoniamque libens Calliopea lyram,
> unica nec desit iucundis gratia uerbis,
> omnia quaeque Venus, quaeque Minerua probat.
>
> Prop. 1.2.26–30

> If a girl pleases one, she is cultivated enough; especially when Phoebus is glad to provide you his poems and Calliope the Muses' lyre, and you do not lack a unique charm and wit in your speech, everything Venus approves, everything Minerva.

It is true that we could read the *cultus*, the *carmina*, the lyre, and the words as those the poet himself dedicates to his mistress, but that is a sense below the obvious one, which sees Cynthia as attractive through her own arts. The sense of her as enjoying a literary culture like that celebrated in Sappho's poetry is bolstered by the reference to the *docta puella*[40] pleased by the poet at Prop. 1.7.11; and her own artistry is confirmed by Prop. 2.3, as we have seen, and later by the fact that she composes her own epitaph (Prop. 4.7.85–6). For such culture in a woman Sappho remains the predominant model, as Propertius 2.3 demonstrates. Perhaps then a more apt title would be not 'Sappho in Propertius?' but 'Sappho and Cynthia'.

[40] The phrase recurs of the speaker herself at [Tib.] 3.12.2; the application to Chloe at Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.10 (*dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens*) has a more limited force—she has simply learned how to play the lyre for symposia, just like the girl from Chios at *Carm.* 4.13.7 (*doctae psallere Chiae*).

11

Vates Lesbia

Images of Sappho in the Poetry of Ovid

Jennifer Ingleheart

From an early stage, the reception of the poetry of Sappho has been inextricable from the traditions that grew up around her life; side by side with appreciation of her verse, we find salacious comments about the conduct and morals of this mould-breaking female poet or, conversely, attempts to normalize Sappho and present her as a less threateningly 'other' figure.[1] It should come as little surprise, then, that Ovid, who does more than any other ancient author to blur the distinctions between life and literature, is deeply engaged with biographical traditions about Sappho; indeed, I shall argue that Ovid's poetry played an important role in some of the later fictions of Sappho. This chapter accordingly focuses not on responses to the *poetry* of Sappho in Ovid's own verse—a study fraught with methodological and theoretical problems, not least because of the now fragmentary nature of the Sapphic corpus[2]—but rather on the picture of Sappho herself which emerges from the Ovidian corpus. The texts under consideration here therefore constitute those

[1] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 16, Gram, Chapter 5, *passim*, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 399.

[2] The (fragmentary or otherwise) state of the Sapphic corpus at different historical periods is uncertain: it is clear that Sappho's poetry was read at late symposia (see e.g. Plut. *Quaest. conu.* 622c, 711d, Gell. 19.9.4, whose passages are quoted in Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 353, 365, cf. Yatromanolakis, 2007, pp. 81–8, as well as Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 120, 136), although the question of which poems were so performed remains open. Thus we cannot be sure what proportion of Sappho's poetry would have been available to Ovid.

instances where Ovid names Sappho or alludes to her as the poet of Lesbos: even if we exclude *Heroides* 15, also known as the *Epistula Sapphus*, of disputed authorship,[3] this leaves several instances: *Amores* 2.18.26 and 34, *Ars amatoria* 3.331, *Remedia amoris* 761, *Tristia* 2.365–6, and *Tristia* 3.7.20. Although previous studies have touched on these passages (usually analysing them in connection with the portrait of Sappho which emerges from *Heroides* 15), the contention of this chapter is that scholars have not to date fully appreciated the characteristic Ovidian wit, double entendre, and close, yet often tendentious, engagement with the work of his poetic predecessors that can be seen to operate in these texts; the close reading that this chapter offers is an attempt to emphasize the significance of such elements in these passages, and the paper's conclusion will explore some reasons why such elements have not been more widely recognized, and consider Ovid's engagement with Sappho in broader terms. The paper will therefore focus upon the diachronic and synchronic history of the reception of Sappho by analysing images of Sappho within the Ovidian corpus.

The earliest direct references to Sappho in the Ovidian corpus outside of his *Heroides* are found in *Amores* 2.18, where she features twice in a catalogue of the lovelorn women who act as letter-writers in the *Heroides*:

> aut, quod Penelopes uerbis reddatur Ulixi,
> scribimus et lacrimas, Phylli relicta, tuas,
> quod Paris et Macareus et quod male gratus Iason
> Hippolytique parens Hippolytusque legant,
> quodque tenens strictum Dido miserabilis ensem
> dicat et Aoniam *Lesbis* †amata† **lyram**.
> quam cito de toto rediit meus orbe Sabinus
> scriptaque diuersis rettulit ille locis!
> candida Penelope signum cognouit Ulixis;
> legit ab Hippolyto scripta nouerca suo.
> iam pius Aeneas miserae rescripsit Elissae,
> quodque legat Phyllis, si modo uiuit, adest.
> tristis ad Hypsipylen ab Iasone littera uenit;
> dat uotam Phoebo Lesbis amata lyram.
>
> Ov. *Am*. 2.18.21–34

[3] See e.g. Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 29–30, Thorsen (2014a), and Elisei, Chapter 12; Thorsen (2014a, pp. 96–122) provides a survey of the debate.

> Or I write what might be delivered in the words of Penelope to Ulysses and your tears, abandoned Phyllis, what Paris and Macareus and ungrateful Jason and the father of Hippolytus and Hippolytus might read, and what pitiable Dido holding the drawn sword might say and the Lesbian †loved† holding the Aonian lyre. How quickly my own Sabinus has returned from the whole wide world and carried back writings from far-distant places! Pure Penelope has recognized the seal of Ulysses; the stepmother has read what was written by her Hippolytus. Now dutiful Aeneas has written back to wretched Elissa, and something which Phyllis might read, if only she lives, is here. A sad letter comes from Jason to Hypsipyle; the Lesbian having been loved dedicates her vowed lyre to Apollo.[4]

Richard Tarrant rejected these references to Sappho as interpolations, on grounds of both style and content, but above all as a necessary corollary of his conviction that *Heroides* 15 is not genuinely Ovidian;[5] I do not share his view of the authorship of *Heroides* 15, and argue that these references to it are more characteristically Ovidian than has previously been recognized. Leaving aside for the moment the uncertainties of the text at 26, as the figure of Sappho makes her first 'direct' entrance into the tradition of Latin love elegy, her portrait is outlined with great economy by a few essential elements. Sappho, the unnamed woman of Lesbos, is accessorized with the lyre which symbolizes her poetry, and she is inextricably linked with love, as the juxtaposition of *amata* and *Lesbis* in line 34 emphasizes.[6] Although the reference to Sappho's lyre respects generic proprieties and nods towards the performance aspect of her

[4] All translations in this chapter are my own.

[5] Tarrant (1981). For this view, see also Knox (1995, pp. 12–14); Rosati (1996) argues for Ovidian authorship. McKeown (1998, p. 398, *ad loc.*), paradoxically accepts this couplet as Ovidian, while denying the Ovidian authorship of *Heroides* 15; however, he admits that 'this puts an agonising strain on credibility, requiring an assumption that the genuine *Epistula Sapphus* [*Heroides* 15] was quickly lost without trace and supplanted by a not unaccomplished substitute'. See also Thorsen (2014a, p. 118).

[6] *amata* has been interpreted variously: as 'the beloved woman of Lesbos' (Tarrant 1981, p. 149, who further comments that 'if *amata* has any meaning it must be that Sappho has regained Phaon's affections'; cf. Goold (1965, p. 42), who interprets *amata* at 34 as 'her love now returned'); Tarrant (1981, p. 151) prefers at 26 the MSS reading *Aoniae Lesbis amata lyrae* (= 'the woman of Lesbos, beloved of the lyre'). Given that Sappho's poetry (and many receptions of it) present us with a woman of wide erotic experience (cf. particularly Ov. *Her.* 15.15–20—and especially *Lesbiadum cetera turba* at 16—and *Lesbides . . . amatae* (sc. *mihi*)), might *amata* hint at this experience? Cf. perhaps Catull. 41.1 *Ameana puella defutata* (although there *de* enhances the sense of the broadness of Ameana's erotic experience). For the role that this problem has played in the debate on the authenticity of *Heroides* 15, see Thorsen (2014a, p. 99).

poetry, Sappho is presented as very much a love elegist *ante diem*,[7] via the suggestion of her unhappy love in the implied parallel with the suicidal, sword-wielding Dido at line 26 and in the dedication of her lyre to Apollo (34), which hints at her death-leap—supposed to have been caused by her unreciprocated love for the boatman, Phaon—from the Leucadian rock, the site of a cult of Apollo.[8] This thumbnail sketch of Sappho has much in common with Horace's tendentious picture of her as a forerunner of the Latin love elegists at *Carm.* 2.13.24–8, where she appears in a vision of the inhabitants of the Underworld. Horace connects her with the love elegists via the generically loaded *querentem*,[9] which is incongruously juxtaposed with her lyre, hinting at her actual generic affiliations:

> Aeoliis **fidibus** querentem
> Sappho *puellis de popularibus*
> et te sonantem plenius aureo,
> Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,
> dura fugae mala, dura belli.
>
> Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.21–8

> and Sappho, complaining on the Aeolian **lyre** *about the girls of her own land*
> and you, Alcaeus, sounding more fully with the gold plectrum the hardships
> of a life at sea, the harsh hardships of exile, the hardships of war.

In both cameos, this famous dead poetic predecessor is presented as a woman of Lesbos, although Ovid spells out her homeland more obviously than Horace, who indicates Sappho's Lesbian birthplace and her sexual proclivities by reference to her love of the girls of her *populus*; the reference to her dialect in *Aeoliis fidibus* further emphasizes her geographical origin. By making Sappho subject to desire for a man while

[7] It is possible that there is some accuracy in this portrait, insofar as Sappho's preferred mode, the Mixolydian (Aristoxenus fr. 81), was linked, like elegy, with mourning: see Pl. *Rep.* 3.398e; and one of the books of her Alexandrian edition was reportedly in elegiac couplets, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1800 and *Suda* Σ 107, whose texts are found in Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 367–8, 369–71, 397–8.

[8] Phaon is said to have been mentioned in the extant fragments of Sappho's output, cf. fr. 211a Voigt, but Menander fr. 258 (from the fragmentary play *Leucadia*) is the first source for Sappho's love of Phaon and suicide. For Sappho's love of Phaon, see also Serv. *Aen.* 3.279, Palaeph. 49, and—in a less mythical context—Plin. *HN.* 22.20. For the texts of these passages, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 309, 306, 345, 391.

[9] See e.g. Spoth (1992, p. 30, n. 9) for the elegiac colour of *queri* (Lat. 'to complain').

describing her as *Lesbis*, Ovid plays upon Horace's earlier presentation of Sappho as a lover of her countrywomen, upsetting the expectations which his readers may already have had by this period about the term 'Lesbian';[10] although the 'heterosexualization' of Sappho is strongly implied by her presence within a catalogue of women abandoned by their male lovers,[11] it is not confirmed until the later allusion to Leucas, so strongly linked to the tradition of her unhappy love for Phaon. Ovid picks up on and further reinforces Horace's hints about Sappho's connection with love elegy via reference to the *Aonian* lyre;[12] for it is precisely an *Aonian* lyre with which Propertius claims his elegiac *puella* is adorned in programmatic position at 1.2:[13]

> cum tibi praesertim Phoebus sua carmina donet
> Aoniamque libens Calliopea lyram.
>
> Prop. 1.2.27–8

> Especially since Phoebus endows you with his songs and Calliope gladly endows you with the Aonian lyre.

Ovid's allusion to this couplet is signposted by reference to the Phoebus of the Propertian hexameter in connection with the lyre at line 34, the fact that Phoebus' role as dedicatee of the tools of a poetess' trade in Ovid reverses his role as the bestower of poetry upon a woman in Propertius, and in the way in which the verb of the hexameter in each case has to be understood as governing the Aonian lyre of the pentameter. Compare

[10] See further p. 220 and Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 106–7 for the connotations of 'Lesbian' as applied to Sappho's 'homosexuality'. (I use this term, as well as words such as 'heterosexual' and 'lesbian', in this chapter as a convenient shorthand, and do not mean through such vocabulary to imply an essentialist view of sexual identities in antiquity.)

[11] Such heterosexualization may perhaps already be seen in Catullus' choice of the name *Lesbia* for his beloved; scholars who debate the connotations of this name usually accept that the name alludes to Sappho (such as Gram in Chapter 5) although they never—as far as I am aware—accept that there may be any connection with Sappho's same-sex desires in the name. For discussions of the implications of the name Lesbia in addition to Gram's, cf. e.g. Holzberg (2000).

[12] Goold (1965, p. 43) claims that '*Aoni(us)* simply means "of the Muses"; coupled with the noun *lyra* (cf. *Am.* 1.1.12, etc.) it loses completely any geographical significance potentially available to it, so that the old scholars' *Aeoli(us)* is not to be countenanced'; while I agree with his assessment of the lack of geographical associations here, he fails to recognize the particularly *elegiac* associations of *Aonia . . . lyra*, which Ovid himself had strengthened by using this collocation in a programmatic opening love elegy.

[13] For the second poems in collections having programmatic functions, see (e.g.) Ingleheart (2003).

too the starring role of the Aonian lyre in another programmatic elegy, *Amores* 1.1.12 (*Aoniam Marte mouente lyram*, 'with Mars playing the Aonian lyre'). Ovid differs from Horace in his portrait of Sappho in one very important respect, however, which has not been recognized in previous scholarship; and that is in his allusion to her as a *writer* of verse, and not solely a performer to the lyre. Even if we do not accept the reading *dictat*, found in some MSS,[14] Sappho's role as a writer, already implicit in her presence in this catalogue of the female correspondents of the *Heroides*,[15] is further emphasized by the reference to the dedication of her lyre, an act which would normally be recorded in the ancient world by a *written* inscription. Indeed, in *Heroides* 15, an elegiac couplet as dedicatory inscription marks the dedication of Sappho's lyre to Apollo at 183–4. Given his readers' knowledge that elegiacs were the usual metre for such dedicatory epigrams—a fact which Ovid plays upon elsewhere[16]—Ovid thus anticipates the generically loaded play in the opening lines of the *Epistula Sapphus* with the notion that the famous lyric poet and oral performer Sappho can be made to write instead in the elegiac metre and genre.[17] The hint in our poem at Sappho as a writer intriguingly pulls against the emphasis on her performance to the lyre, suggesting that as Sappho enters the Roman elegiac sphere, she must take on the qualities of a world which very much depends upon the *written* word.[18] Given the close engagement with Horace's earlier portrayal of Sappho that we have already observed, I suggest that this notion of Sappho as a writer may engage polemically with another earlier reception of Sappho and her world: Catullus 35, where Caecilius' *puella*, whose passion for him has been increased by reading his *Magna Mater*, is described as *Sapphica puella* | *musa doctior* (Catull. 35.16–17).[19] While the meaning of the phrase *Sapphica . . .* | *musa* is much debated,[20] Stephen

[14] p_S *dicat*; PYS_S *dictat*.

[15] Reading and writing receive emphasis in the *Am.* 2.18 passage: see particularly *legant* (24), *scripta* (28), *legit . . . scripta* (30), and *littera* (33).

[16] See Ramsby (2005) on inscriptions in elegiacs and in hexameters in Ovid.

[17] See Elisei, Chapter 12, p. 228.

[18] For stress on love elegy as *written*, cf. e.g. Prop. 2.10.8, Ov. *Am.* 2.1.38, 3.1.53–4, 3.8.5–6.

[19] See Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 99–101 and Heyworth, Chapter 10, pp. 201–4 especially for reflections on the aspect of writing and the *puella docta* in the case of Cynthia.

[20] Ellis (1889, p. 122) understood *Sapphica . . .* | *musa* as a reference to Sappho's status as the 'tenth' Muse; Thomson (1997, p. 295), Fordyce (1961, p. 178), and Syndikus (1984, p. 204, n. 28) gloss the phrase as referring to Sappho herself as a poet. For further interpretations, see p. 211 and Gram, Chapter 5 as well as Heyworth, Chapter 10, pp. 201–4.

Heyworth has suggested that it refers to one of Sappho's female love objects and hence a source of her inspiration.[21] One possibility which has not, however, previously been explored is that Catullus alludes to Caecilius' beloved as being more learned than the Sapphic 'Muse' (i.e. her/his source of inspiration) not in terms of this woman being more 'poetically acute' (in Heyworth's formula), but insofar as she is a *reader* of poetry. The suggestion is therefore that she is more literate than the archaic audience for Sappho's orally performed poetry;[22] the emphasis on the *puella*'s increased passion as a result of her *reading* Caecilius' verse (13) is therefore key to understanding the phrase *Sapphica puella | musa doctior* on my interpretation. Ovidian play with this Catullan picture of Sappho's milieu as one in which poetry is appreciated by listeners rather than readers would fit with Ovid's close reading of and intense engagement with previous responses to Sappho.

What of the disputed text at line 26, thus far passed over? The transmitted and fairly nonsensical *amata* has fairly obviously been substituted under the influence of the ending of line 34, and none of the conjectures so far proposed to replace it seems wholly satisfactory. As Booth *ad loc.* notes, the phrase relating to 'the Lesbian' needs to 'parallel exactly that relating to Dido, which is what the rhythm of the couplet seems to require.'[23] I suggest that this requirement, and Booth's sense that we need 'something indicating Sappho's rejection or frustration', can best be met by the previously unproposed *amara* ('bitter').[24] This adjective would provide a good parallel for the *miserabilis* Dido, disappointed in

[21] Heyworth (2001, p. 125): 'Catullus has just described how Caecilius' *puella* owes her passion to reading the poem on the *Magna Mater*. If she is "more learned [i.e., poetically acute] than the Muse of Sappho", it seems to be implied that the *Sapphica musa* is not Sappho's poetry or Sappho herself, but an appreciative reader and addressee of Sappho; as we say in English, "her Muse". Though this fits the context, there seems to be no ancient parallel extant'; Heyworth goes on to cite the Latin love elegists' treatment of the mistress as inspiring poetry (e.g. Prop. 2.1.3–4).

[22] For the probable limited extent of literacy in sixth-century Lesbos, see Harris (1989, p. 48). See Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 205–6) on the importance of the performance of poems for archaic audiences.

[23] Booth (1991).

[24] *amarus* has the sense not of internal feelings of bitterness, but of bitterness towards another person (cf. e.g. *TLL* 1.1821.53, where the synonyms *acerbus*, *insuauis*, and *saeuus* are offered), and here would allude to the bitterness Sappho displays towards the unfaithful Phaon at (e.g.) *Ep.* 15.20, 55–6, 103, 189–90, and 207–8; see further no. 27 below for *amarus* used of persons. Cf. perhaps *Her.* 15.219–20, where Sappho wishes for a *crudelis epistula* from Phaon, explaining the reason for his abandonment of her.

love, which is clearly what the sense demands.[25] The conjecture *amara* has two further advantages: firstly, its similarity to the transmitted *amata* would further explain how the corruption occurred, and, more persuasively to my mind, when the reader goes on to encounter *amata* in the same metrical position in line 34, they hear an echo of the earlier description of Sappho as *amara*. A strong link between love and bitterness is thereby insinuated, which furthermore activates a pun which plays on a famous description of love in a fragment of Sappho's own erotic verse:[26]

> Ἔρος δηὖτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει,
> γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον.
>
> Sappho fr. 130 Voigt

> Love once again, the limb-loosener, agitates me, sweet-bitter insurmountable creeping thing.

amarus, as glosses in several of the grammarians confirm, was the Latin equivalent of πικρός,[27] strengthening Ovidian allusion to this fragment of Sappho, and several earlier examples can be found of allusions to Sappho fr. 130 via the use of this adjective or its cognates in combination with *dulcis* in erotic contexts.[28] It would therefore be a nice touch for Ovid to describe Sappho as disappointed in love by means of an adjective which had become closely identified with one of Sappho's characterizations of love;[29] the experience of sweetness, the other side of love, is obviously not relevant to the female correspondents of the *Heroides*.

[25] Furthermore, *miserabilis* plays upon Vergilian descriptions of Dido as *misera* (*Aen.* 1.719, 4.315, 420, 429, 697) and *miserrima* (*Aen.* 4.117); the fact that *miserabilis* alludes to Vergil as Ovid's source text supports the conjectured *amara* insofar as this word alludes to Sappho (as I have suggested above). I am grateful to Thea S. Thorsen for this point.

[26] For the reception of Sappho's fragment in later poetry, see e.g. Theognis 1353–4 (πικρὸς καὶ γλυκύς . . . | ἔρως), and n. 28.

[27] *TLL* 1.1820.3.

[28] e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 68–70 *an amare occipere amarum est?* | *namque ecastor Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus; gustui dat* ***dulce, amarum*** *ad satietatem usque oggerit*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 63 ***dulce amarumque*** *una nunc misces mihi*, Catull. 68.17–18 *non est dea nescia nostri,* | *quae* ***dulcem*** *curis miscet* ***amaritiem***, and Verg. *Ecl.* 3.109–10 *et quisquis amores* | *aut metuet* ***dulcis*** *aut experietur* ***amaros***.

[29] One possible objection to which my conjecture is open is that Ovid nowhere applies *amarus* to people; for examples of *amarus* used of persons, see *TLL* 1.1822.77–1823.11. One of these examples may allude to Sappho fr. 130: at Prop. 2.33.5–6, Propertius asks (in the text printed by Heyworth; see Heyworth 2007b, pp. 259–60 for the need to print this couplet in this form) *quae dea tam cupidos totiens diuisit amantes?* | ***quaecumque, illa*** *suis semper* ***amara*** *fuit*. In its immediate context (the worship of Isis has taken Cynthia away from

The various and pervasive elements of literary play and playful literariness I have detected in these references to Sappho suggest that they are authentically Ovidian. A further and final point in favour of accepting these references as genuine is that three further references to Sappho also occur within Ovidian catalogues, all of them tendentious references, to which I now turn.

In the third book of the *Ars amatoria*, Sappho forms part of the reading list that Professor Ovid sets for his female pupils in the art of love:

> sit tibi Callimachi, sit Coi nota poetae,
> sit quoque uinosi Teïa Musa senis
> nota sit et Sappho (quid enim lasciuius illa?),
> cuiue pater uafri luditur arte Getae.
> et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti,
> siue aliquid Galli, siue, Tibulle, tuum.
>
> Ov. *Ars* 3.329–34

> Let the Muse of Callimachus and of the Coan poet be known by you and also the Teian Muse of the wine-soaked old man; let Sappho too be known (for what is more wanton than her?), and he by whose art the father is deceived by the crafty Geta. And you ought to be able to have read a poem of tender Propertius or something of Gallus or your poem, Tibullus.

Sappho stands out—and not only as the only female author[30]—in this list of essential erotic reading matter. One major difference between Sappho and the famous poets who precede her in this catalogue is that the reader is told to get to know the *Muse* of Callimachus, Philetas, and Anacreon, whereas they are told to get to know Sappho herself, without any mention of a Sapphic or Lesbian Muse. I shall discuss some further implications to Ovid's use of such phrasing later in this chapter, but it is worth noting Ovidian play with earlier portraits of Sappho via such phrasing. Sappho's own verse suggests her close relationship with the

Propertius), the answer to the question of 5 is Io/Isis, but in the broader context of the Propertian corpus, especially given the indefinite and therefore potentially pluralising *quaecumque*, 'Venus' would be another answer, activating allusion to her son, Eros/Cupid as 'bittersweet'. Relevant is also the suggestive interpretation of Verg. *Ecl.* 10.5, *Doris amara* as a *puella* in a context of bittersweet love by Harrison (2007, p. 62).

[30] As Stephen Heyworth observes, the fact that Callimachus, Philetas, and Anacreon are alluded to by reference to their *Musa* gives prominence to *female* expertise in the arts of love; compare the way in which erotic knowledge is pointedly attributed to Sappho (in contrast to most of her male counterparts) in *Rem. am.* 761–2 (discussed p. 217).

Muses,[31] and Sappho herself famously later becomes identified as a Muse in a number of Hellenistic epigrams.[32] Ovidian allusion here to Sappho as the 'tenth' Muse may be further strengthened at the close of this section when Ovid appeals at line 348 to the *nouemque deae* ('nine goddesses'—i.e. the Muses) to grant Ovid a place among these poets.

Ovid's question in parentheses at line 331 also makes Sappho stand out from the male poets in whose company she appears. For Ovid's purposes, the adjective *lasciuus* is usefully polyvalent: it can be both technical rhetorical vocabulary and have moral reference.[33] Ovid's question can therefore be interpreted as a stylistic comment on Sappho's poetry—one might compare Quintilian's verdicts on Ovid's own poetry: *Elegia quoque Graecos prouocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime uidetur auctor Tibullus. sunt qui Propertium malint. Ouidius utroque lasciuior* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93, 'we also challenge the Greeks in elegy, the most polished and elegant author of which seems in my opinion to be Tibullus by a long way. There are those who prefer Propertius. Ovid is more unrestrained than either') and: *lasciuus quidem in herois quoque Ouidius et nimium amator ingenii sui . . .* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.88, 'indeed Ovid is also unrestrained in his epic poetry and too great a lover of his own ingenuity').[34] However, the primary reference of *lasciuius* here must be to the 'wanton'—that is, the erotic—aspect of Sappho's life and poetry: this is what would be relevant to Ovid's female pupils in their attempt to win men over.[35] Although much of Sappho's

[31] See Sappho fr. 44b (this highly fragmentary text talks of the 'glorious (gifts) of the Muses'), Sappho fr. 55.2–3 (which suggests that Sappho herself has a share in the roses of the Muses' Pieria), Sappho fr. 103.5 (where Sappho seems to summon the Muses), Sappho fr. 127 (Sappho summons the Muses), Sappho fr. 150 (which identifies Sappho among the number of those who serve the Muses), Sappho fr. 187 (a bare mention of the Muses; cf. fr. 214b), Sappho fr. 193 (the testimonium of Aristides, *Or.* 28.51, which suggests that Sappho claims that the Muses had blessed her; the fragment was connected by Voigt with fr. 55; for the text, which is the same as *Or.* 49 in Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 363), and the 'new Sappho' fr. 58.1; Sappho fr. 32 Voigt may suggest that Sappho has been honoured by the Muses.

[32] Ant. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 7.14.1–2, Dioscorides, *Anth. Pal.* 7.407.4, Ant. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 9.66, Plato, *Anth. Pal.* 9.506; for the texts, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 302, 315–16, 347–8 . For discussions of the epigrams, see also Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 97–8.

[33] For *lasciuus* of over-ornamented or unrestrained style, see *TLL* 7.2.986.22–33; for *lasciuus* in a moral sense, see *TLL* 7.2.984.15–58, 985.3–26, 27–47, 51–72.

[34] Peterson (1891, p. 89) comments on these passages that the reference in *lasciuus* is to Ovid's style 'running riot' (p. 84).

[35] Compare Ovid's description himself through the mouthpiece of Apollo as ***lasciui*** . . . *praeceptor amoris* (*Ars* 2.497, 'Preceptor of wanton love'), discussed by Elisei, Chapter 12,

verse has been lost, for all the homoerotic descriptions of desire that it contains,[36] we would nevertheless be hard pressed to describe it as 'wanton':[37] indeed, Judith Hallett has denied on the basis of the surviving fragments that Sappho contains any clear reference to homosexual acts.[38] Yet we need not posit the deliberate suppression of wanton portions of Sappho's verse.[39] It is clear from a variety of ancient sources that Sappho's poetry (and Lesbian lyric more generally) was seen as lascivious in nature.[40] Furthermore, Ovid's characterization of Sappho as wanton confuses the biographical tradition about Sappho with her poetry. A tradition that is capable of confusing Sappho with a hetaera and that makes her synonymous with the love of women justifies Ovid's suggestion that she is *lasciuius* compared to other erotic authors;[41] as I noted previously, it is significant that the adjective is applied to Sappho herself, not her *Musa*, with slippage between Sappho the

p. 231, and rephrased as *nil nisi* ***lasciui*** *per me discuntur amores* (*Ars* 3.27, 'Naught save wanton loves are learnt through me') and his description of his erotic poetry (*at cur in nostra nimia est* ***lasciuia*** *Musa*) at *Tr.* 2.313, and the depiction of ***lasciuus*** Catullus at *Tr.* 2.427–8 (*sic sua* ***lasciuo*** *cantata est saepe Catullo | femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat*). Cf. too Apul. *Apol.* 9 (on others who wrote erotic verse with impunity before him) . . . *etiam mulier Lesbia,* ***lasciue*** *illa quidem* . . . (with an obvious debt to our passage).

[36] e.g. Sappho 1, frr. 16, 22, 31, 49, 94. Snyder (1997a, p. 2) comments 'her poetic world, as the fragments clearly show, was centred on women and on homoerotic desire.'

[37] See Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 5–6 and Chapter 1, pp. 39–40.

[38] e.g. Hallett (1996, pp. 131–2), who notes that 'the surviving fragments of Sappho's poetry do not provide any decisive evidence that she participated in homosexual acts . . . More significantly, there are no references in Sappho's lyrics to any physiological details of female homoerotic involvement . . . It may well be that Sappho wrote more explicitly about her own, and others', participation in homosexual acts in verses which have been accidentally, or even deliberately, lost.' This interpretation is contested by Winkler (1996, p. 107, pointing to fr. 94.23 as a 'fairly explicit sexual statement'), who (p. 108) questions why Hallett seeks to deny any physical component to Sappho's 'emotional lesbianism' (something which Hallett does not deny). Wilson (1996, p. 76) observes that readers searching Sappho's work for 'evidence of sexual activity' are likely to be disappointed, given the lack of reference to genitals, but considers (pp. 76–8) representations of sexuality in Sappho's verse.

[39] See previous note.

[40] Compare e.g. Aristophanes (Dionysus comments on Euripides' Muse) *αὕτη ποθ' ἡ Μοῦσ' οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὔ* . . . (*Ran.* 1308, 'This Muse once, well, she never gave throat to a Lesbian tune!') where the verb *ἐλεσβίαζεν* refers to fellatio, but also to *Lesbian* lyric, cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 918–20, and Gram, Chapter 5, p. 109 with translation of the latter passage. See too Clearchus fr. 33W on the similarity between Sappho's verse and popular erotic songs. See too De Simone (2008) on the Aristophanes passage. I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the reference to Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

[41] For Sappho's association with the figure of a hetaera, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8, Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 104–7, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, see keywords.

woman and 'Sappho the poetic works'. Ovid may not confuse Sappho's life solely with her own work, however: the depiction of Sappho in *Her.* 15 is wanton in that it contains the only first-person, female account of sexual arousal and orgasm in extant classical literature.[42] If Ovid was indeed the author of this poem, he himself played a role in depicting Sappho as *lasciua*.

There is more to the adjective *lasciuus* here, however; Ovid, as Thea S. Thorsen has well noted,[43] often uses this adjective to characterize his own erotic poetry (see n. 35); Ovid thereby constructs Sappho as an Ovidian poet, a recurring feature of his interactions with her to which I will return. Indeed, given that Ovid in the *Ars amatoria* presents his readers with techniques and positions to use in the bedroom,[44] and the absence of his own name from the list of love elegists that he goes on to give here, one might toy with the notion that a possible answer to Ovid's question (*quid enim lasciuius illa?*) would be: 'Ovid'.[45] Although all of the authors featured in this catalogue represent specifically *erotic* reading matter, it is only in the case of Sappho that Ovid spells out the naughtiness of such content so directly.[46] I suggest further that Ovid matches his depiction of Sappho's poetry as risqué with a racy sexual insinuation of his own here: for in the examples which precede Sappho of poets to whose work the female reader is directed, it is their work, their *Musa*, which the pupil is told that she should get to know; contrast line

[42] For Sappho's arousal (in a 'wet' dream), see *Her.* 15.125–34, particularly 133–4 (I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for this point). The editors point out that the closest parallel in extant ancient literature for this 'Sapphic' account is found at *Ars* 3.793–4, on which Gibson (2003, p. 399) comments: 'Ovid's explicit concern with female experience of intercourse is in many ways unique in ancient literature'; hence, Ovid himself is the best candidate for being a *lasciuus* poet in the mould of Sappho, as I suggest in the next paragraph.

[43] Thorsen (2014a, p. 145).

[44] Ov. *Ars* 2.703–32.

[45] Compare *quis nisi Maeonides Venerem Martemque ligatos | narrat, in obsceno corpora prensa toro?* (Ov. *Tr.* 2.377–8, 'Who but the Maeonian tells of Venus and Mars caught in bonds of unseemly love?'). One answer to this question is the bard Demodocus, who actually relates the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares in *Od.* 8; another answer is 'Ovid', given his version of it—in his guise as narrator of the poem—at *Ars* 2.561–600. See Ingleheart (2010, p. 305).

[46] Contrast the reference to Anacreon as the poet of wine (*uinosi . . . senis*, 330), alluding to his sympotic-erotic verse (for which, see e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 88.37, who records that among the scholar Didymus' boring research was the question *libidinosior Anacreon an ebriosior uixerit*) and *teneri . . . Properti* (for *tener* with erotic connotations, see e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.18.19, *artes teneri profitemur Amoris*, *Ars* 1.7, *me Venus artificem tenero praefecit Amori*, Tib. 1.3.57, 2.6.1).

331. Given many parallels in Ovid and elsewhere for the use of verbs of knowledge to refer to specifically *carnal* knowledge,[47] the context that nothing is more wanton than Sappho, and the frequent expression of desire for women in Sappho's poetry, Ovid's advice to the female reader here to get to know *Sappho* rather than her Muse can therefore be read as acknowledging her status as the first lesbian in the lowercase, modern sense, with a knowing wink.[48]

That wink turns into a frank leer in the closely parallel reference to Sappho within a catalogue of erotic poets whose work the recovering lover must avoid in the *Remedia amoris*:

> eloquar inuitus: teneros ne tange poetas.
> summoueo dotes impius ipse meas.
> Callimachum fugito: non est inimicus Amori:
> et cum Callimacho tu quoque, Coe, noces
> me certe Sappho meliorem fecit amicae,
> nec rigidos mores Teia Musa dedit.
> carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli,
> uel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?
> quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?
> et mea nescio quid carmina tale sonant.
>
> Ov. *Rem. am.* 757–66

> I speak unwillingly: do not touch the tender poets. Impious, I remove my own gifts from you. Flee Callimachus: he is not an enemy to Love: and with Callimachus, you too cause harm, Coan poet. I'm sure that Sappho made me better for my girlfriend, and the Teian Muse gave no upright morals. Who could have read the songs of Tibullus unscathed, or your songs, whose work was Cynthia and Cynthia alone? Who could depart hard after reading Gallus? My songs too sound somewhat in this manner.

Translating *meliorem . . . amicae* as 'better company for my girl-friend', Henderson *ad loc.* notes that 'the adjective is inoffensive, but a nod is as a good as a wink. The reading of love poetry makes one a better, i.e. a more

[47] Cf. e.g. Ovid, *Her.* 6.133, *turpiter illa uirum cognouit adultera uirgo*, *Am.* 2.8.3, *et mihi iucundo non rustica cognita furto*, and Adams (1982, p. 190).

[48] The implication may find a parallel at the start of the next passage which I consider, at *Rem. am.* 757, *eloquar inuitus: teneros ne tange poetas!* (for the erotic connotations of touching, see e.g. *TLL* 4.714.27–35, Adams (1982, pp. 185–7), and *Ars* 1.92, *quodque semel tangas*, *Rem. am.* 415, *malles nullam tetigisse puellam*).

ardent and imaginative lover.'[49] Commenting on this couplet, Luke Houghton has recently noted that:

> Things get worse in the following line, where the speaker declares that the erotic lyrics of Anacreon have not led him into *rigidos mores* (Ov. *Rem. am.* 762).[50] Perhaps not, if we understand *rigidus* in its primary sense here as 'strict' or 'severe', and *mores* as 'morals'. But in another sense the development of *rigidi mores*, 'stiff habits', is precisely the kind of reaction we might have expected the reading of erotic literature to produce—and an equally good reason for the lovesick to avoid it.

Henderson and Houghton seem to get the sexual insinuations of this couplet exactly right but the depiction of Sappho here is worth probing a little further, not least given Houghton's detection of an overtly sexualized pun in the suggestion that Anacreon is the textual equivalent of Viagra. The claim that the reading of Sappho's poetry improves the male lover—and the lover *must* be male, for the pun on *rigidus* to work—gives us a picture of Sappho Sexpert, an ancient equivalent of the modern US Susie Sexpert, or her British equivalent, Athena Douris, the lesbian agony aunt who used to offer in the now defunct *FHM* (*For Him Magazine*) an advice column giving men sexual tips on techniques to use with women. Given that the reader of the *Ars* has already encountered Ovid's advice to men on how to conduct themselves in bed with their *amica*, Sappho here appears as a forerunner of the Ovid of the *Ars amatoria*, providing men with advice on sex.[51] Sappho has the advantage over Professor Ovid, however, that a *woman* with experience of the love of women may be expected to have greater knowledge of what is likely to satisfy a woman sexually.[52]

Tristia 2's reference to Sappho also implies that she offers lessons along the lines of Ovid's own erotodidactic poetry and that the L/lesbian poetess's sexuality is ultimately at the service of *men*. She features in prominent position near the start of a lengthy catalogue of erotic authors who got off scot-free, despite writing works which are claimed to have anticipated Ovid's didactic *Ars*:

[49] Henderson (1979). [50] Houghton (2009, p. 283).

[51] See Elisei, Chapter 12, p. xxx.

[52] For the idea that women have greater knowledge in sexual matters than men, cf. e.g. the attribution of handbooks on sex to women, particularly the notorious Astyanassa and Philaenis: see Parker (1992b, pp. 92–3, 105–6). Cf. also Elisei, Chapter 12.

denique composui teneros non solus amores:
composito poenas solus amore dedi.
quid nisi cum multo Venerem confundere uino
praecipit lyrici Teïa Musa senis?
Lesbia quid docuit Sappho nisi amare puellas?
tuta tamen Sappho, tutus et ille fuit.

Ov. *Tr.* 2.361–6

And finally I am not alone in having composed tender loves: I am alone in having been punished for composing love. What except to mix Venus up with much wine did the Teian Muse of the lyric old man instruct? What did Lesbian Sappho teach girls except how to love / except how to love girls? However Sappho was safe, and he was safe.

There is a double entendre to match *nota sit et Sappho* in line 365; for the line is open both to the interpretation 'What did Sappho teach girls except how to love?' and also 'What did Sappho teach except how to love girls?'[53] The first of these implies that Sappho instructed girls in the ways of love, which would cast her in a role similar to that of Ovid in *Ars* 3, echoing his alleged offence of teaching *Romanas . . . nurus* (*Tr.* 2.244); Sappho thus provides an excellent precedent for *Tristia* 2's case for the defence of the *Ars*, as she is presented not just as a proto-elegist, but a specifically *Ovidian* figure in instructing women in their love affairs.[54] Holt N. Parker has noted that Ovid is here the earliest source we can identify for the pervasive myth of 'Sappho Schoolmistress'.[55] We can push this picture of Sappho as erotic instructor further, however: readers may well ask themselves exactly *how* such instruction was offered,[56] not least because Ovid had played up the erotics of pedagogy in *Ars* 3, as he flattered the female recipients of his teaching of the art of love, and expresses what are presented as personal erotic preferences even while he encourages women to make themselves as attractive as possible.[57]

[53] Gibson (1999, p. 28, n. 35) already notes this double meaning.

[54] Jacobson (1974, p. 281) commented on *Tr.* 2.365 that 'one almost senses that he considers her his female counterpart'.

[55] Parker (1993, p. 316).

[56] Compare Max. Tyr. 18.9 (*ὁ δὲ τῆς Λεσβίας* [sc. *ἔρως*] . . . *τί ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἢ αὐτό, ἡ Σωκράτους τέχνη ἐρωτική*; 'What else could one call [the love] of the Lesbian woman than the Socratic art of love?'), for the passage from which this quotation is taken, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 361–2.

[57] For Ovidian flattery of women in *Ars* 3, see e.g. 195–6; such flattery contrasts with insulting comments about women elsewhere in the book (e.g. 103–4). For Ovid's encouragement of women to make the most of themselves chiming with what are presented as

The lessons in love which Ovid offers women are thus hardly disinterested,[58] and the reader may suspect that Sappho too took a more than purely scholarly interest in her pupils' development. The second translation I have offered for this line hints even more strongly at Sappho's love of girls, an implication which is strengthened by the epithet *Lesbia* (*Tr.* 2.365); the periphrasis *Teïa Musa* in the previous line suggests that *Lesbia* may be a purely geographical marker, but the connection of Sappho with the love of girls hints that 'lesbian' is here used in its modern, lowercase sense, to indicate a sexual preference. Peter Knox's 1995 commentary on selected letters of the *Heroides* identifies Horace, *Carm.* 2.13.24–5, and *Tristia* 2.365 as the 'earliest attested remarks about Sappho's homosexual liaisons',[59] but this interpretation lacks some of the nuance of the line itself; the point to this reference to Sappho is that it is studiedly ambiguous, with *Lesbia* open to a geographical as well as biographical sense, and the question itself open to more—or less—innocent interpretations.

Ovid can be seen to toy with yet more biographical traditions about Sappho in this couplet, for her juxtaposition and closely implied connection with Anacreon hint at a—chronologically impossible—tradition that she and Anacreon were lovers;[60] she had already been coupled with Anacreon in the *Ars* and *Remedia*, perhaps hinting at such a relationship (a potential insinuation which, as far as I am aware, has been overlooked in previous scholarship). Again, the application of the term *tuta* to Sappho may hint at another facet of the biographical tradition: on the most obvious level, the adjective refers to love as 'safe' subject matter for Sappho, in contrast with Ovid's own

personal preferences, see e.g. 249–50, 309–10, and 519–20 (with Gibson 2003, *ad loc.*), where the poet–lover's erotic interest in the women he is instructing becomes clear. Furthermore, the book 'sells' the advantages of Ovid as a lover: see e.g. 534–44.

[58] Cf. Rimell (2006, p. 75) for the *praeceptor amoris* himself being a lover throughout the *Ars* and p. 95 for Ovid as a rival to the other male lovers envisaged in Book 3.

[59] Knox (1995, p. 283).

[60] For this tradition, see Hermesianax fr. 7.47–52, and on the later juxtaposition of Sappho with Anacreon and the role that this assimilation played in constructing Sappho's image, see Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 222–4) and Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 35–6. One source (Chamaeleon fr. 26 Wehrli, cited from Athenaeus' *The Learned Banqueters*, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 31) imagines Sappho and Anacreon engaging in a poetic dialogue, in which Anacreon talks about Sappho as a woman of Lesbos in fr. 358 *PMG*, and she comments on this in fr. adesp. 953 *PMG*: on this exchange, see Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 355–6).

sad fate as the author of the 'unsafe' *Ars amatoria*. Yet the adjective becomes loaded via Ovid's frequent use of it to refer to his lack of exilic safety—a direct consequence of his erotic teaching:[61] it activates an allusion to the exiles which were apparently undergone by both Sappho and Anacreon.[62]

Furthermore, the two couplets in which Sappho features offer further evidence of typically Ovidian close reading of her verse: for it is rare for a poet to be named more than once in *Tristia* 2's lengthy catalogue of erotic authors, and when there *is* repetition of names, it appears pointed: the double reference by name to Cinna, for example, in line 435 (*Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser*) is the only example in the catalogue of an author's name appearing twice in a single line. This insistent naming of Cinna may wittily allude to the fatal confusion over the name of Cinna the poet, torn apart by the mob when he was mistaken for Julius Caesar's enemy, L. Cornelius Cinna.[63] I suggest that Ovid's repeated naming of Sappho in this passage therefore alludes to the frequent appearance of Sappho's name within her own poetry; a strikingly high number of instances can be found even in the attenuated corpus that we now possess.[64] As I have suggested elsewhere,[65] Catullus may already have alluded to this characteristic feature of Sappho's poetry with his own practice of regular self-naming.[66] Given Ovid's interest in engaging with previous receptions of Sappho, such allusion to her poetry itself and an aspect of its reflection in Catullus' verse seems likely.

Given Ovidian allusions to a variety of different representations of Sappho, the parallel with the significant double naming of Cinna introduced above may encourage the reader to recall another facet of the tradition of Sappho's reception: the separation of Sappho into two figures, the famous lyric poet and a hetaera (these two figures are sometimes

[61] See Ingleheart (2010, p. 166).

[62] For Sappho's exile, see *Marm. Par.* 36 Jacoby (cf. Sappho fr. 98b.8; *Her.* 15.52), Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 17–18, and for Anacreon's exile, *Suda A* 1916 (Adler).

[63] See Ingleheart (2010, p. 336).

[64] Sappho's name occurs at frr. 1.20, 65.5, 94.5, and 133.2 Voigt; Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Archilochus are never named in their extant verses, whereas Anacreon is named six times in the *Anacreontea*, Simonides' name occurs in one of his elegies and three dedicatory epigrams, Corinna's name appears once in her verses, and Hipponax names himself four times (or possibly six, but there are textual uncertainties and questions of attribution).

[65] Ingleheart (2003).

[66] Catullus names himself twenty-five times in a corpus of around 116 poems.

conflated; see n. 41).[67] Might Ovid's unusual double naming of Sappho in the catalogue slyly allude to the two Sapphos,[68] just as the repetition of Cinna's name may allude to two different republican figures with the same name?

The final example of direct Ovidian reference to Sappho, found in *Tristia* 3.7, has not usually been read as painting her as an erotic poet; however, a portrait of Sappho which excluded the erotic would be out of line with the other Ovidian references we have examined. Ovid addresses the poet 'Perilla' thus:

> ergo si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem,
> sola tuum uates Lesbia uincet opus.
>
> Ov. *Tr.* 3.7.19–20

> Therefore if the same fires remain in your breast, the Lesbian poetess alone will beat your work.

The standard interpretation of these lines is that Sappho here represents the ultimate example of poetic attainment by women and that Ovid thereby provides Perilla, his poetic protégée, with an extravagant compliment.[69] Such high praise of Perilla can be compared with the comment on Sappho by Strabo that *συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα· οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευομένῳ φανεῖσάν τινα γυναῖκα ἐνάμιλλον, οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν, ἐκείνῃ ποιήσεως χάριν* (Strabo 13.2.3, 'Along with these men flourished Sappho too, a marvellous phenomenon: for in all of recorded time, I do not know of the appearance of any woman who could rival Sappho, even to a slight degree, in the matter of poetry') or epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* which emphasize Sappho's pre-eminence among *female* poets.[70] Yet there is more to this reference.

Treating this couplet in his commentary, Georg Luck restricts the meaning of the phrase *ignes . . . pectoris* (19) to the notion of poetic inspiration, and interprets the pentameter's reference to Sappho in a very limited sense:

[67] See also Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, *passim*.

[68] I am grateful to Gideon Nisbet for suggesting that we might thus interpret the double naming of Sappho.

[69] *sola* may perhaps further allude to Sappho as a monodist.

[70] *Anth. Pal.* 9.190.7–8 and 7.15.

Zu *pectus* als Sitz des *ingenium*, aber auch der Inspiration und Vision . . . —*uates Lesbia*: schrieb Perilla lyrische Dichtungen (auf Griechisch? . . .) oder ist das Kompliment ganz allgemein, wie Prop. 2,3,21 f.

The *pectus* as the site of *ingenium*, but also as the inspiration and vision . . . —*uates Lesbia*: Perilla wrote lyric poems (in Greek? . . .) or this is a general compliment, as at Prop. 2.3.21 f.

In Ingleheart 2012, I argue that 'Perilla' is a *scripta puella* written to suggest the continuation of Ovid's erotic poetics in Rome even after his banishment for his elegiac *Ars*, and the parallel with Sappho in this poem is only one of several ways in which Perilla is linked with the erotic. To read the reference to Sappho as Luck does constitutes an almost perverse determination to overlook possible erotic connotations in this poem. In elegy and elsewhere, references to fire frequently denote the fires of love and the *pectus* is often the seat of erotic feelings; *ignes . . . pectoris* therefore denotes erotic passion as well as inspiration.[71] There may also be a further allusion to the Horatian reception of Sappho, given that she is linked with erotic heat in *Carm.* 4.9.11.[72] More importantly, allusion to the fires in the breast of Perilla imply similar fires in Sappho's breast too and this reference to Sappho is therefore in line with the usual depiction of Sappho as the poet of passion in Roman verse, a stereotype which Ovid has good reasons for perpetuating in each of the tendentious examples we have seen.

The erotic connotations that the mention of Sappho arguably brings to the fore in this poem may be further strengthened by her description as *uates Lesbia*; *uates* is of course a loaded and polyvalent term in Augustan poetry,[73] but its application to Sappho may allude to her role as the *uates* of erotic love. Compare, for example: *tu quoque, quae montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos— | nam tua sum—uati consule, diua, tuae!* (Ov. *Her.* 15.57–8, 'You too, Erycina, who frequent the Sicanian mountains—for I am yours—protect your bard, goddess') and: *Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae, | desinite ad citharas turba uenire mea. | abstulit omne Phaon, quod uobis ante placebat, | me miseram, dixi quam modo paene 'meus'. | efficite ut redeat; uates quoque uestra redibit* (Ov. *Her.* 15.201–5,

[71] For fire as an erotic image, see e.g. *ignes* at Ov. *Tr.* 2.407, 4.10.45, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.10.

[72] See Thorsen, Chapter 9, p. 170.

[73] See Newman (1967, *passim* and particularly pp. 100–14) for Ovid's exploitation of the concept.

'Lesbian women, whom I have loved to the detriment of my reputation, cease to come crowding to my lyre. Phaon has swept away all who were pleasing to you before, wretched me, how nearly I just said "my" Phaon! Make him return; your bard will also return'). These are the only references to Sappho as a *uates* in *Heroides* 15: the first identifies Sappho as the *uates* of Venus, alluding to the close connection between Sappho and Aphrodite which is clear in the surviving fragments of Sappho,[74] and the second paints Sappho as the *uates* of the Lesbian women, with obvious erotic connotations. Given Ovid's presentation of Sappho as an Ovidian poet elsewhere, we might also compare Ovid's descriptions of himself as the *uates* of Venus and Cupid.[75] *Vates* is thus not simply an elevated means of identifying Sappho as a poet, but a way of commenting on the blend of erotic and religious themes in her corpus.[76]

Why have the passages I have examined in this paper not been interpreted as being both as witty and as tendentious as I have suggested that they are? Hampered by the loss of so much of the poetry of Sappho, scholars have, I suggest, been inclined to take such representations at face value, devaluing the element of creative engagement with his poetic predecessors that is characteristic of Ovid.[77] As this chapter has emphasized, Ovid's reception of Sappho is intensely engaged with earlier responses to the figure of Sappho, from biographical traditions about her in Greek New Comedy and elsewhere, through her representation in Hellenistic epigram, to portraits of Sappho and her poetry in the verse of earlier Latin poets (and in *Heroides* 15, written, as is assumed in this volume, by Ovid).[78] The multi-faceted picture of Sappho that therefore emerges in the passages of Ovid considered in this chapter reflects the

[74] e.g. Sappho 1, frr. 2, 140a, 168, 211. See further Wilson (1996, pp. 21–42).

[75] *Quaere nouum uatem, tenerorum mater Amorum* (*Am.* 3.15.1, 'Seek a new bard, mother of the tender Loves', *parce tuum uatem sceleris damnare, Cupido* (*Rem. am.* 3, 'Do not hold me, your bard, guilty of a crime, Cupid'), and *et uatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos* (Ov. *Fast.* 4.14, 'You know that both bard and month are yours, Venus').

[76] Such a blend is clear as early in the extant corpus as Sappho 1 and fr. 2. It is possible that *uates* may hint at a hero cult for Sappho: for possible evidence of such a cult, see Clay (2004, pp. 64, 150). I am grateful to Ivana Petrovic for this suggestion.

[77] Cf. e.g. Ovid's tendentious representation of his literary predecessors as forerunners of elegiac writing in the catalogue at *Tr.* 2.363–468. If (for example) the works of Homer had been lost, we would have a misleading picture of the themes that dominate his corpus from *Tr.* 2.371–80, despite the fact that Ovid bases his characterization of Homer's verse on a close engagement with his text: see Ingleheart (2010, pp. 300–7).

[78] See Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 29–30.

many different ancient representations of Sappho (poetess, tenth Muse, hetaera, heterosexual, homosexual, suicide, teacher, lyric poet, Lesbian . . .).[79] Ovid also played an important role in creating and perpetuating some of the more pervasive elements in the tradition of images of Sappho: he is responsible for creating the myth of 'Sappho Schoolmistress' and a major influence on representations of Sappho as a lover of women (albeit with some ambiguity in his own portrayal of this aspect). However, it is when Ovid presents Sappho as a forerunner of the elegiac poets in general and as a proponent of his own eroto-didactic verse in particular that his portrait of Sappho is most revealing: Ovid's Sappho is made to take on a very Ovidian set of characteristics as the wanton instructor of women and the knowledgeable purveyor of erotic lore to men; a distinctly different situation from Ovid presenting *himself* in the guise of a Sapphic poet, as Catullus does when he takes on Sappho's poetic voice in 51's version of fragment 31.[80] Images of the *uates Lesbia* as a forerunner of Ovid in the passages that we have explored thus ultimately reflect above all on Ovid and his own poetic agenda.[81]

[79] For the many different images of Sappho in antiquity, and the reception of Sappho as 'a series of attempts to come to terms with the complexity of this set of data' (p. 14), see Most (1996, pp. 13–14), who, at p. 17, notes that *Her.* 15 is the earliest attempt to synthesize the various traditions of Sappho; might the multi–faceted picture of Sappho in the Ovid passages here considered therefore suggest that Ovid is also the author of *Her.* 15?

[80] Cf. Hunter, Chapter 2, *passim*, Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 78–80, and Gram, Chapter 5, p. 96.

[81] If Ovid is indeed the author of *Heroides* 15, this would parallel the way in which Sappho is appropriated for the author's own purposes there, as the most famous exponent of lyric love is programmatically recast as an elegist. See Elisei, Chapter 12.

12

Sappho as a Pupil of the *praeceptor amoris* and Sappho as *magistra amoris*

Some Lessons of the *Ars amatoria* Anticipated in *Heroides* 15

Chiara Elisei

This paper aims to present two of the many images of Sappho in *Heroides* 15 (also known as the *Epistula Sapphus*) that are complementary and closely link the epistle to the *Ars amatoria*.[1] What I shall try to show is not so much how the original Sappho is echoed in the epistle, although I will occasionally point to references in her poetry, as much as how the Sappho of *Heroides* 15 is in keeping with the remainder of Ovid's poetry, that is, how Ovidian she appears. My argument relies on the assumption that *Heroides* 15 is genuine and a part of Ovid's single *Heroides* and as such precedes the *Ars amatoria* in the chronological order of Ovid's output.[2]

[1] This chapter is partly based on my PhD dissertation, a commentary on Ovid's *Heroides* 15, which I discussed in June 2010 at Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa under the supervision of Prof. Gian Biagio Conte. I am very grateful to him and Federica Bessone for all their advice and support through the whole project, as well as Stephen Harrison, who accepted to be my co-examiner on that occasion and has generously shared his competence and enthusiasm; cf. Elisei (forthcoming).

[2] See Thorsen (2014a, pp. 9–38).

Mythological *exempla* and Non-Pertinent Hints

After a short preface, where Sappho anticipates the surprise of Phaon in reading her letter—composed in *alterna carmina* ('elegiac couplets') rather than in her characteristic *lyrici modi* ('lyric metre') (ll. 5–6)—Sappho gives us some context. Phaon has abandoned her and he is in Sicily busy, as we will learn from l. 51, with *noua praeda*, while Sappho is consumed by her unrequited love for him. But Sappho does not give in, and tries to win Phaon back. In lines 21–60 her strategy is implemented through a number of rhetorical and narrative devices. First comes praise of Phaon's beauty (ll. 21–30); then an *excusatio uitiorum* ('pardoning of disadvantages') (ll. 31–40) and a *commendatio uirtutum* ('recommendation of advantages') for herself (ll. 41–50) follow, as in the best rhetorical tradition.[3] Finally, the poet appeals to the girls of Sicily asking them to release Phaon so that he can return to her (ll. 51–60).

This strategy reflects the advice given in the *Ars amatoria* to stress one's own virtues and omit or underestimate defects. We have a first example in the asymmetrical comparison between Sappho on one side and Ariadne and Daphne on the other:

> est in te facies, sunt apti lusibus anni:
> o facies oculis insidiosa meis!
> sume fidem et pharetram: fies manifestus Apollo;
> accedant capiti cornua: Bacchus eris.
> et Phoebus Daphnen, et Gnosida Bacchus amauit,
> nec norat lyricos illa uel illa modos.[4]
>
> Ov. *Her.* 15.21–6

> You have beauty, and your years are apt for life's delights—O beauty that lay in ambush for my eyes! Take up the lyre and quiver—you will be Apollo manifest; let horns but spring on your head—you will be Bacchus! Phoebus loved Daphne, and Bacchus, too, loved the Gnosian maid, and neither one nor other knew the lyric mode.

Sappho's comparison with Ariadne and Daphne advances the previous one between Phaon and the two gods Apollo and Bacchus. Phaon is praised for his beauty that makes him similar to the gods. But the purpose

[3] Cf. Dörrie (1975, pp. 80, 95–6).
[4] The Latin text is quoted according to Knox (1995).

of the comparison is not only to praise Phaon, in a sort of *captatio beneuolentiae*, since he is well aware of his beauty and appears fully absorbed by his new mistresses; it also serves to call Phaon's attention to their mutual love (which is a very Sapphic theme: see for instance Sappho poem 1.21–4 Voigt, where Aphrodite assures Sappho that the person who does not love her, shortly will do so, even unwillingly).[5] Sappho stresses that the two gods Bacchus and Apollo loved and pursued humans, while Phaon avoids her love. Even more remarkably, Bacchus and Apollo loved women who did not even have Sappho's poetic talent. This is what I call a 'non-pertinent' hint: in fact, the two girls' lack of poetic talent plays no role in their respective stories and in the context of our poem, but it is relevant to Sappho's strategy. In this way, the comparison between Sappho and Ariadne/Daphne becomes favourable to the poet: in the first place, she stresses her own particular advantages;[6] secondly, while stressing this, Sappho 'forgets' to mention the beauty of Ariadne and Daphne, which is extensively described in the subsequent *Ars* (1.525–65) and *Metamorphoses* (1.452–567). Mentioning the two girls' beauty would have implied drawing attention to her own lack thereof. So Sappho just leaves the detail aside and makes a first apologetic move by postponing such a disadvantageous topic.

The detail is actually due to emerge soon, as we shall see in a few lines, but not before Sappho has emphasized her talent, through a *synkrisis* with Alcaeus:

> at mihi Pegasides blandissima carmina dictant;
> iam canitur toto nomen in orbe meum,
> nec plus Alcaeus, consors patriaeque lyraeque,
> laudis habet, quamuis grandius ille sonet.
>
> Ov. *Her.* 15.27–30

> Yet for me the daughters of Pegasus dictate sweetest songs; my name is already sung abroad in all the earth. Not greater is the praise Alcaeus wins, the sharer in my homeland and my gift of song, though a statelier strain he sounds.

[5] For the whole poem of Sappho, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 65.

[6] It is also worth noticing the phraseology here, *lyricos . . . modos*, which is exactly the same as in the proemion. But while in the opening Sappho regretted that she has changed from *lyricos modos* to elegiac poetry, now she gets back to her past production, since it can guarantee her an enduring and widespread fame.

Thus Ovid's Sappho stresses her own fame as poet, which she insists is one of her greatest attractions as a person and lover.

excusatio uitiorum: Sappho as a Pupil of the *magister amoris*

Finally, Sappho cannot avoid admitting that she is not beautiful.[7] But the way in which she does it and underscores this disadvantage is very clever indeed and still aims to provide Phaon (and readers) with an attractive and positive picture of herself:

si mihi difficilis formam natura negauit,
ingenio formae damna repende[8] meo.
sum breuis, at nomen, quod terras impleat omnes,
est mihi; mensuram nominis ipsa fero.
candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo
Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae.
et uariis albae iunguntur saepe columbae,
et niger a uiridi turtur amatur aue.
si, nisi quae facie poterit te digna uideri,
nulla futura tua est, nulla futura tua est.

Ov. *Her*. 15.31–40

[7] For a discussion of Sappho's looks as received in antiquity, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 30–4.

[8] I read *repende meo* at line 32 instead of *rependo meae* from Ovid's manuscripts, which is chosen by Dörrie (1975) in his commentary and by Knox (1995). *Rependo* implies the shortening of the final *o*, which is well documented in Ovid and other elegiac poets for disyllabic verbs, but not for words with three syllables: see for instance: *desino*, Tib. 2.6.41 and Ov. *Her*. 18.203; *confero*, Ov. *Pont*. 1.1.25 (cf. Platnauer 1951, p. 52; Courtney 1965, p. 65). The proposal of Bentley (viz. Hedicke 1905) to change *rependo* to *repende* does not present strong difficulties: the use of the second person is not problematic, whereas it adds emphasis as an appeal from Sappho to Phaon (the poet extensively uses the second person in the first part of the epistle: see ll. 4, 11, 20; in the imperative mood at l. 23 too) and it is improved by the easy amendment of *mea*/*meae* in *meo* (Baehrens). Tarrant (1981, p. 137) opts for *rependo* on the grounds that 'if the work is judged spurious, then the more natural *rependo* ought to be preferred'; but regardless of the authenticity of the epistle, the metrical problem remains unsolved in his argument. Finally, I do not see how Knox's parallel with another Ovidian passage (*Ars* 2.667) should support *rependo* if he considers the letter spurious. In Ovid we have another example of *rependo* in the imperative mood: *Am*. 2.8.21–22 *pro quibus officiis pretium mihi dulce repende | concubitus hodie, fusca Cypassi, tuos* (although the meaning here is more 'give in exchange', 'recompense', rather than 'compensate': 'so in return, my black beauty, reward me today with your sweet self', translation by Lee 1968); more convincing is Ausonius (who knows the letter: see 102 *Epigr*. 23.12–13, cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 384–5) *Prof. Burd*. 2.31–2 *quiesce placidus et caduci corporis | damnum repende gloria* ('calm be your rest, and with renown outweigh the frail body's loss'). See also Thorsen (2014a, p. 106).

> If nature, malign to me, has denied the charm of beauty, weigh in the stead of beauty the genius that is mine. I am slight of stature,[9] yet I have a name that fills every land; the measure of my name is my real height. If I am not dazzling fair, Cepheus' Andromeda was fair in Perseus' eyes, though dusky with the hue of her native land. Besides, white pigeons oft are mated with those of different hue, and the black turtle-dove, too, is loved by the bird of green. If none shall be yours unless deemed worthy of you for her beauty's sake, then none shall be yours, at all.

These lines anticipate the lesson of the *Ars*, making Sappho a kind of first pupil of the *praeceptor amoris* ('professor of love'), also dubbed *Naso magister* ('Ovid the teacher'), and the whole letter a sort of laboratory in which to test the forthcoming *praecepta* and prove their efficiency.

In particular, the main precept on which the *Ars* is based is expressed in the second book, where Ovid the poet is addressed by the vatic god Apollo and simultaneously provides us with a wide range of cases to show the precept's practical application:

> is mihi 'lasciui' dixit 'praeceptor Amoris,
> duc age discipulos ad mea templa tuos,
> est ubi diuersum fama celebrata per orbem
> littera, cognosci quae sibi quemque iubet.
> qui sibi notus erit, solus sapienter amabit
> atque opus ad uires exiget omne suas:
> cui faciem natura dedit, spectetur ab illa;
> cui color est, umero saepe patente cubet;
> qui sermone placet, taciturna silentia uitet;
> qui canit arte, canat; qui bibit arte, bibat.
> sed neque declament medio sermone diserti,
> nec sua non sanus scripta poeta legat.'
>
> Ov. *Ars* 2.497–508

> 'Preceptor of wanton love,' said he to me, 'come, lead thy pupils to my shrine, where there is a saying renowned in fame over all the world, which bids each be known by himself. Only he who knows himself will love with wisdom, and perform all his task according to his powers. Let him to whom nature has given beauty be looked at for that; he who has a fair skin, let him oft lie with shoulder visible; let him who pleases by his talk break the still silence; who sings well, let him sing, who drinks well, let him drink. But

[9] I adopt Showerman's translation with a minor tweak: he accepts Bentley's correction of *sum* in *sim*, thus translating 'If I am slight of stature', while I keep the manuscript's *sum* printed by Knox (2005).

neither let the eloquent declaim in the midst of talk, nor the frenzied poet recite his verses.'[10]

Here Ovid recalls the Delphic lesson of *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* ('know yourself') and applies it to the elegiac world.[11] But even before that Ovidian Apollo solemnly announced that enhancing one's own talent is the only way to *sapienter amare*, the poet had suggested something similar to his pupils, for instance in order to make a good impression at the banquet: *si uox est, canta; si mollia bracchia, salta | et, quaecumque potes dote placere, placet* (*Ars* 1.595–6 'sing, if you have a voice; if your arms are supple, dance; please by whatever gifts you can'). In fact the precept and its applications occur quite often in the *Ars* and not only there.[12]

One of the main injunctions of the *praeceptor—ut ameris, amabilis esto* (*Ars* 2.107, 'that you may be loved, be loveable') is thus combined with the Delphic principle on the grounds that a deep awareness of his own virtues and defects will enable someone who wants to be loved to be worthy of love.

Ovid does not just enunciate the general rule, leaving its application open to his disciples; starting from the tiniest details of cosmetics, he ultimately ends up regulating every single aspect of a relationship on the assumption that the only way to gain and retain a lover is building on our own strong points and attenuating the weak ones.[13] Sappho is the girl who puts the lesson into practice and shows us its efficacy—at least in terms of poetic achievement.[14] In fact, since she acknowledges her

[10] See also, further down: *ad propiora uocor; quisquis sapienter amabit, | uincet et e nostra, quod petet, arte feret* (*Ars* 2.511–12, 'to nearer matters am I called. Whoso loves wisely will be victorious, and by my art will gain his end').

[11] For the connection between love and knowledge in the world of Latin love elegy, see Thorsen (2013b, p. 124).

[12] See for instance *Ars* 3.565; *Rem. am.* 754; *Her.* 2.27; 21.57–8.

[13] 'Il principio del *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* e il principio dell' 'amabilis esto' funzionano come le coordinate necessarie ad individuare esattamente ogni singolo precetto. Il contenuto del precetto risulterà dall'incontro delle due esigenze: chi vuol piacere, di volta in volta, deve anche badare a riconoscere, tra le numerose possibilità, quella a sé più conveniente. Sembrerebbe solo una piccola lezione di buon senso, se i consigli si limitassero all'abbigliamento o all'acconciatura, mezzi tradizionali dell'arte di parere belli. Si scopre poi che la precettistica ovidiana vuole mostrare la validità dei suoi principi anche negli ambiti più segreti: l'intento è di sottoporre a regolazione ogni parte della materia amorosa. La regola che dell'arte di amare fa soprattutto l'arte di farsi amare, deve imporsi anche nello spazio del talamo, là dove il principio della *uoluptas* sembrerebbe bastare a sé stesso.' Labate (1984, p. 160).

[14] See Thorsen, Introduction, pp. 39–40.

physical defects, she compensates—*rependere* in the Latin text—for them with her poetic talent, confident that eventually the latter—her *ingenium*—will be worth more than her *damna formae*, that is being short and with a dark complexion.

While the features concerning her less attractive looks concord with extant fragments of Chamaeleon's treatise *On Sappho*, as preserved in *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1.19–24,[15] where Sappho is claimed to be small of stature, dark, and not so good-looking,[16] there is evidence in the extant poetry of Sappho that a person of less appealing looks can be the object of love, nonetheless. In one of her poems Sappho describes her favourite, Atthis, and claims to love her although she is short and ungraceful:

> Ἠράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἄτθι, πάλαι ποτά.
>
> * * *
>
> σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κἄχαρις.
>
> Sappho fr. 49 Voigt

I loved you, Atthis, once long ago. You seemed to me a small, graceless child.

The fragment is reproduced in the handbook of metre by Hephaestion (*Ench.* 7.7, p. 23 Consbruch), where the two Sapphic lines appear separately. Notably, '[t]he version of Terentianus Maurus [of the Handbook] suggests that the lines are consecutive, however unlikely that may seem.'[17] The consecutive sequence of the lines appears if not outright likely, then at least relevant from the point of view of Sappho's insistence in *Heroides* 15 that what appears less beautiful on the outside can nevertheless be loved.[18]

[15] Cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15. pp. 369–71 for the text, *P.Oxy.* 1800, fr. 1 and Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 33 for the relationship between Chamaeleon and the papyrus.

[16] Height has been considered a sign of beauty since Homer, cf. *Od.* 15.148; 18.248–9. In a poem where Catullus praises the beauty of Quintia, *Quintia formosast multis; mihi candida, longa recta est* . . . (Catull. 86.1–2, 'Quintia is thought beautiful by many; I think her fair, tall, and straight'), the poet combines fair complexion and height to symbolize female beauty, which we shall see below is also the case in Ovid. See also Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.123–4; Prop. 2.2.5; in Ovid also see *Am.* 2.4.33–4, with further bibliography in McKeown (1998, *ad loc.*, and 3.3.8).

[17] Campbell (1982, p. 95).

[18] And, in turn, be beautiful, simply because it is lovable, cf. Thorsen, Chapter 9, p. 177. A further link between this fragment and Ovid's epistle, is found in a line, where Sappho claims that Atthis is no longer welcome to her eyes, like she used to be (*Her.* 15.18, *non oculis grata est Atthis ut ante meis*). Cf. also Sappho fr. 96.16 Voigt.

For strategies to deal with disadvantageous appearance, we can compare *dic habilem, quaecumque breuis; quae turgida, plenam,* | *et lateat uitium proximitate boni* (*Ars* 2.661–2, 'if short, call her trim; if stout, of full body; let its nearness to a virtue conceal a fault') where men are invited to consider short stature as a sign of agility in their women; while the advice to women in the *Ars* is to sit down or recline to hide the fact that they are short.

> rara tamen menda facies caret: occule mendas
> quaque potes uitium corporis abde tui.
> si breuis es, sedeas, ne stans uideare sedere,
> inque tuo iaceas quantulacumque toro;
> hic quoque, ne possit fieri mensura cubantis,
> iniecta lateant fac tibi ueste pedes.
>
> Ov. *Ars.* 3.261–6

> Yet rare is the face that lacks a blemish: hide your blemishes, and so far as you can conceal any fault of body. Sit if you are short, unless standing you seem to be sitting, and recline, small as you are, on your coach; here, too, lest your measure be taken as you lie, let your feet be hidden by a robe thrown across them.[19]

This time, Sappho chooses an alternative route—but one which still derives from and does not contradict the main precept. Again, as we saw in the case of the comparison with Daphne and Ariadne, Ovid's Sappho shifts the focus to her poetic talent and turns her physical shortness into metaphorical height: that of her *ingenium* and world-wide fame. The literal and the metaphorical levels are thus mixed: for the literal idea of size we have *sum breuis* as well as the noun *mensura*, which is however used in a metaphorical meaning; for the second *nomen*, in the sense of 'fame' (cf. *Her*. 15.28 above).

The second defect is having a dark and not a fair complexion—in Latin words, *fusca* and not *candida* (cf. *Her*. 15.36 above).[20] Propertius had already contemplated the possibility that a dark person could be attractive too: *uidisti*[*s*] *pleno teneram candore puellam,* | *uidisti*[*s*] *fusca*<*m*>*: ducit*

[19] I read with Gibson *menda* rather than *mendo*, but the translation of Mozley (1979) is unaffected.

[20] The ideal colour of the skin in ancient culture was fair (see for instance Theoc. *Id.* 10.26–8; Asclep. *Anth Pal.* 5.210.3; Philod. *Anth. Pal.* 5.121.1; Verg. *Ecl.* 2.15–18; also Mart. 4.62; 7.13; further examples in Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm*. 2.4.3; also noteworthy is Brown on *nigra melichrus est* (Lucr. 4.1160, 'the swarthy woman is "honey-coloured"')).

uterque color (Prop. 2.25.41–2, 'you have seen a pretty girl of fair complexion, or again a swarthy beauty: either hue attracts you').[21] It is however Ovid who gives the word *fuscus* its own meaning, distinguishing it from *niger* and making the overall contrast with *candidus* softer.

A first example is in the *Amores* in the context of a catalogue of women, where Ovid expresses a sort of manifesto of the lover's flexibility:[22]

> candida me capiet, capiet me flaua puella,
> est etiam in fusco grata colore uenus.
> seu pendent niuea pulli ceruice capilli,
> Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma
> seu flauent, placuit croceis Aurora capillis.
> omnibus historiis se meus aptat amor.
>
> Ov. *Am.* 2.4.39–44

> I love the pale and I love the golden—the swarthy are lovely too. Black hair on snow-white shoulders reminds me of Leda's raven locks, a platinum blonde of flaxen-haired Aurora. Love, I find, mythologizes life.

As amply discussed by McKeown,[23] *flaua* presents some difficulties as it stands between two adjectives related to skin colour, while in reference to complexion it actually lacks parallels. However, giving it the meaning of 'fair-haired' as suggested by Booth,[24] with dark-haired Leda representing

[21] I print Camps's correction of *uidistis* in *uidisti*, since it conveniently gives the text a general sense rather than referring the experience only to the second person plural mentioned above, and in line with the second person singular at line 47 (see Fedeli 2005, *ad loc.*). In his edition Heyworth (2007a, *ad loc.*) keeps the transmitted text but at line 47 he accepts Forster's emendation of *tuis* to *suis*, otherwise the second person singular would remain isolated in the text. For the original text *fusco* emended to *fuscam*, see instead Heyworth (2007a, p. 221), who rightly points out the fact that the transmitted text both in ll. 41–2 and 43–4 lacks the necessary balance between hexameter and pentameter and that there is no advantage in the plural *fuscas* either paleographically or within the couplet, while *fuscam* is an appropriate choice. Heyworth however seeks some more parallelism in the pair of distichs and in his edition he proposes *patria Argiuas prodire figura*, so that *Argiuas* can match *nostras* in the following line. I think that the transmitted text *quandam Argiua prodire figura* can be maintained for the aforementioned reason as there is no need to seek a perfect parallelism within the four lines, and the use of the singular to indicate three types of girls, before turning to plural for the last type, does not ruin the harmony of the composition.

[22] See McKeown (1998, *ad loc.*) for the careful structure of the catalogue, which starts with types of characters, continues with talents, and ends with physical qualities. The poem shares many features with *Heroides* 15 that are not relevant to the present discussion and hence not commented upon here, see however Thorsen (2014a, pp. 159–62).

[23] McKeown (1998, *ad loc*).

[24] Booth (1991, *ad loc.*).

the *candida puella* and fair-haired Aurora the *flaua puella*, does not seem an economic solution. McKeown rightly raises the point that in this case there would be no mythological example of the *fusca puella*, a considerable absence since Andromeda would easily fit here and she is well known and deployed by Ovid (cf. *Her.* 15.36 above and *Ars* 2.643). Despite the lack of parallels, referring *flaua* to a shade of complexion, 'somewhere between very fair (*candida*) and very dark (*fusco colore*)'—*sic* McKeown *ad loc.*—is a rather attractive hypothesis as a first step towards defining the colour gradation. Here the sequence is *candida*, *flaua*, *fusca*, with the last traditionally symbolizing the least attractive type; but the sequence will soon evolve into *candida*, *fusca*, *nigra* within which the adjective *fuscus* will serve to mitigate the (almost) dark complexion and make it more acceptable.[25] It is in the *Ars* that Ovid delineates the use and importance of *fuscus* more closely as part of the strategy of *accipere in meliorem partem*. The device consists not in replacing the fault with the equivalent virtue, but in using a euphemism: which means choosing, among a range of virtues, the very one that is closest to the defect that needs to be hidden or even overlaps with it to some extent.[26] Ovid gives further examples in the *Ars*:

> parcite praecipue uitia exprobrare puellis,
> utile quae multis dissimulasse fuit.
> nec suus Andromedae color est obiectus ab illo,
> mobilis in gemino cui pede pinna fuit.
>
> Ov. *Ars* 2.641–4

> Particularly forbear to reproach a woman with her faults, faults which many found it useful to feign otherwise. Her complexion was not made a reproach against Andromeda by him on whose either foot was a swift-moving pinion.

and:

> nominibus mollire licet mala: fusca uocetur,
> nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit;

[25] As briefly noted by McKeown (1998) ad *Am.* 2.4.39–40 *fuscus* 'is more complimentary than would be e.g. *niger*'.

[26] 'Invece che sostituire il difetto (fisico o morale) con il corrispondente pregio, si tratta di percorrere la strada, più breve e piana, dell'eufemismo: basterà scegliere, nella mappa delle virtù, quella che si colloca immediatamente accanto al vizio che si intende nascondere, quella che anzi risulta condividere con esso uno spazio di sovrapposizione.' Labate (1984, p. 188). Also McKeown (1998, p. 67) briefly ad *Am.* 2.4.

si paeta est, Veneris similis, si raua, Mineruae;
sit gracilis, macie quae mala uiua sua est;
dic habilem, quaecumque breuis, quae turgida, plenam,
et lateat uitium proximitate boni.

Ov. *Ars* 2.657–62

With names you can soften shortcomings; let her be called swarthy, whose blood is blacker than Illyrian pitch; if cross-eyed, let her be like Venus: grey-haired, like Minerva; call her slender whose thinness impairs her health; if short, call her trim; if stout, of full body; let its nearness to a virtue conceal a fault.

and finally:

quot noua terra parit flores, cum uere tepenti
uitis agit gemmas pigraque fugit hiemps,
lana tot aut plures sucos bibit: elige certos,
nam non conueniens omnibus omnis erit.
pulla decent niueas: Briseida pulla decebant;
cum rapta est, pulla tum quoque ueste fuit.
alba decent fuscas: albis, Cephei, placebas;
sic tibi uestitae pressa Seriphos erat.

Ov. *Ars* 3.185–92

As many as are the flowers that the new-born earth produces, when the vine in warm spring urges forth its buds, and sluggish winter is fled, so many dyes and more does the wool drink up; choose those that are sure to please, for not every one suits every woman. Snow-white skins like dark grey colours, dark grey became Briseis; even when she was carried off was her robe dark grey. Those dark of hue like white; in white didst you please, Cepheis: for you thus clad was Seriphos oppressed.

In particular, the first and third passages employ the same example as in our epistle: in the first case Andromeda is loved by Perseus despite having a dark complexion, whereas in the third passage Andromeda softens her defect by wearing dresses of an appropriate colour, which well suits her. The second example recalls our text in its structure as we have a wide range of options and examples expressed in conditional clauses before the main sentence where the basic rule is enunciated: hide the defect by focusing on the positive trait next (or closest) to it.

In *Heroides* 15, Sappho starts off by defining her complexion with a litotes (*candida si non sum*, rather than 'I am *fusca*' or, even worse, '*nigra*') whereas the adjective that really depicts her complexion appears in the comparison (*Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae*). But the

structure carefully assembled by Sappho breaks down a little straight afterwards,[27] in the context of the comparison with birds. Despite all the effort that Sappho channels into stating that light-coloured birds fall in love with green or black ones, this does not matter, because the use of *niger* finally discloses the true colour of Sappho's complexion: not *candida*, not even *fusca* . . . but truly, properly *nigra*.

In sum Sappho applies the *praeceptor amoris*'s device of stressing virtues and hiding faults to gain Phaon's love. But her case also exposes the vulnerability of the device, making a first step towards the reversibility of the love process, which will be addressed by Ovid in the *Remedia amoris*. The best way to recover from an unhappy love will be in fact denying the woman's virtues or turning them into vices and, not surprisingly, one of the examples employed in this poem will be again the *fusca*/*nigra* girl:

profuit assidue uitiis insistere amicae
idque mihi factum saepe salubre fuit.
'quam mala' dicebam 'nostrae sunt crura puellae!'
nec tamen, ut uere confiteamur, erant;
'bracchia quam non sunt nostrae formosa puellae!'
et tamen, ut uere confiteamur, erant.
'quam breuis est!' nec erat, 'quam multum poscit amantem!';
haec odio uenit maxima causa meo.
et mala sunt uicina bonis: errore sub illo
pro uitio uirtus crimina saepe tulit.
qua potes, in peius dotes deflecte puellae
iudiciumque breui limite falle tuum.
turgida, si plena est, si fusca est, nigra uocetur;
in gracili macies crimen habere potest.
et poterit dici petulans, quae rustica non est;
et poterit dici rustica, si qua proba est.

Ov. *Rem. am.* 315–30

It helped me to harp continually on my mistress's faults, and that, when I did it, often brought me relief. 'How ugly', would I say, 'are my girl's legs!' and yet they were not, to say the truth. 'How far from comely are my girl's arms!' yet comely they were, to say the truth. 'How short she is!' though she was not; 'how much she asks of her lover!' that proved my greatest cause of hate. Faults too lie near to charms; by that error virtues oft were blamed for vices.

[27] Which in terms of metapoetics nevertheless retains its power and Ovidian fingerprint; see Thorsen (2014a, pp. 162–6).

> Where you can, turn to the worse your girl's attractions, and by a narrow margin criticize amiss. Call her fat, if she is full-breasted, black if dark-complexioned; in a slender woman leanness can be made a reproach. If she is not simple, she can be called pert: if she is honest, she can be called simple.

As the *Ars* and *Remedia* elaborate the case from two opposite standpoints, the epistle can be ideally placed in between as it anticipates and paves the way for both. Sappho's individual experience ultimately precedes the generalization of the rules to follow in love, either when you fall in love with someone or when you want to fall out of love.

The *topos* of the lover who focuses on advantages, but disregards disadvantages, or on the contrary the lover who wants to stop loving and thus sees only faults in his beloved and disregards the person's attractiveness, has moreover some influence on another of the *Heroides*. Jacobson first highlighted the similarities between Sappho's erotic rhetoric in *Heroides* 15 and Phaedra's portrayal of Hippolytus in *Heroides* 4:[28]

> te tuus iste rigor positique sine arte capilli
> et leuis egregio puluis in ore decet.
> siue ferocis equi luctantia colla recuruas,
> exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes;
> siue lentum ualido torques hastile lacerto,
> ora ferox in se uersa lacertus habet;
> siue tenes lato uenabula cornea ferro—
> denique nostra iuuat lumina, quidquid agis.
>
> Ov. *Her.* 4.77–84

> That hardness of feature suits you well, those locks that fall without art, and the light dust upon your handsome face. Whether you draw rein and curb the resisting neck of your spirited steed, I look with wonder at your turning his feet in circle so slight; whether with strong arm you hurl the pliant shaft, your gallant arm draws my regard upon itself, or whether you grasp the broad-headed cornel hunting-spear. To say no more, my eyes delight in whatsoever you do.

The passage is an example of how specifically tuned the eye of a lover is, and thus a variation of the motif. In his detailed study of the fourth epistle, Landolfi downplays the application here of the strategy described above,[29] but rather points to the similarities between *sint procul a nobis iuuenes ut femina compti!—fine coli modico forma uirilis amat* (Ov. *Her.* 4.75–6,

[28] Jacobson (1974, p. 150). [29] Landolfi (2000).

'away from me with your young men arrayed like women!—beauty in a man would fain be striven for in measure') and *forma uiros neglecta decet: Minoida Theseus | abstulit a nulla tempore comptus acu; | Hippolytum Phaedra, nec erat bene cultus, amauit* (*Ars* 1.509–11, 'an uncared-for beauty is becoming to men; Theseus carried off Minos' daughter, though no clasp decked his temples. Phaedra loved Hippolytus, nor yet was he a dandy'), which make of Hippolytus an aesthetic model for the time and gives Phaedra the role of 'adviser' in erotic and aesthetic matters, thus prefiguring the same role that Ovid himself will play later on.[30]

Sappho and Phaedra share some features that distinguish them from the other heroines:[31] age and boldness in love. Both call themselves *puellae* (cf. *Her*. 4.2 and 15.100) when they are indeed older than Phaon and Hippolytus respectively.[32] Although there is no explicit mention of Sappho's age in *Heroides* 15, the emphasis on Phaon's youth (see above, l. 21) suggests that the poet is older.[33]

The two heroines also struggle to reconcile *amor* and *pudor* (or *decor*/*reverentia*), a *topos* already in Euripides' *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* ('Veiled') and *Hippolytos Stephanophoros* ('Crowned'). But whereas Phaedra, consumed by passion, can still adopt the argument of *pudor* in her attempt to seduce Hippolytus *qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amori; | dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor* (*Her*. 4.9–10, 'wherever modesty may attend on love, love should not lack in it; with me, what modesty forbade to say, love has commanded me to write'); also: . . . *quid deceat, non uidet ullus amans* (*Her*. 4.154, 'Of what befits, no one who loves takes thought'),

[30] 'Non sarà pertanto azzardato supporre che, a partire dalla quarta *Eroide*, Ovidio sfrutti il personaggio-Ippolito quale modello estetico di riferimento per i giovani del suo tempo, affidando per il momento a Fedra quel ruolo, più tardi da lui stesso rivestito, di esperto consigliere erotico-estetico.' Landolfi (2000, p. 36).

[31] See Gordon (1997). [32] Cf. Thorsen (2006/7, p. 182).

[33] The more mature age of Phaedra is more explicitly mentioned in *Heroides* 4: *uenit amor grauius, quo serius: urimur intus; | urimur, et caecum pectora uulnus habent. | scilicet ut teneros laedunt iuga prima iuuencos, | frenaque uix patitur de grege captus equus, | sic male uixque subit primos rude pectus amores, | sarcinaque haec animo non sedet apta meo. | ars fit, ubi a teneris crimen condiscitur annis; | quae uenit exacto tempore, peius amat* (*Her*. 4.19–26, 'love has come to me, the deeper for its coming late—I am burning with love within; I am burning, and my breast has an unseen wound. As the first bearing of the yoke galls the tender steer, and as the rein is scarce endured by the colt fresh taken from the drove, so does my untried heart rebel, and scarce submit to the first restraints of love, and the burden I undergo does not sit well upon my soul. Love grows to be but an art, when the fault is well learned from tender years; she to whom love comes when the time for love is past, has a fiercer passion').

in Sappho's case *amor* and *pudor* are already poles apart and exclude each other, *non ueniunt in idem pudor atque amor* (*Her*. 15.121, 'modesty and love are not at one').

Thus, certain rhetorical strategies adopted by Sappho to overcome disadvantages in Ovid's *Heroides* 15 strikingly resemble those of Ovid's Phaedra in *Heroides* 4 while prefiguring those of the *praeceptor amoris* in the *Ars amatoria*.

Commendatio uirtutum: Sappho as *docta puella* and Passionate Lover

After the *excusatio uitiorum*, at l. 41 of the epistle Sappho launches a full *commendatio uirtutum*, despite having already taken the chance to stress her virtues, as we have seen. The passage between the two sections is marked by a strong adversative (*at*, 'but on the contrary') at the opening and by the key term *formosa* ('beautiful woman'), which evokes the previous *damna formae*. Sappho can rely on and boast of two virtues: her poetic talent and *ars amandi*:

> at me cum legeres, etiam formosa uidebar;
> unam iurabas usque decere loqui.
> cantabam, memini—meminerunt omnia amantes—
> oscula cantanti tu mihi rapta dabas.
> haec quoque laudabas, omnique a parte placebam,
> sed tum praecipue, cum fit amoris opus.
> tum te plus solito lasciuia nostra iuuabat,
> crebraque mobilitas aptaque uerba ioco,
> et quod, ubi amborum fuerat confusa uoluptas,
> plurimus in lasso corpore languor erat.
>
> Ov. *Her*. 15.41–50

Yet, when you read my song, I seemed even beautiful;[34] you swore 'it was I alone whom speech forever graced. I would sing to you, I remember—for lovers remember all—and while I sang you stole kisses from me. My kisses too you praised, and I pleased in every way—but then above all when we wrought at the task of love. Then did my playful ways delight you more than your wont—the quick embrace, the jest that gave spice to our sport, and,

[34] The translation of the first line reflects the fact that I adopt the transmitted text, with *legeres etiam*, rather than *legerem sat iam* chosen by Showerman. For the textual difficulty see p. 242, n. 36.

when the joys of both had mingled into one, the deep, deep languor in our wearied frames.

Not only is Sappho's poetry graceful and pleasant; but it also makes her beautiful—*formosa*—as well as a *puella docta*. Compare in particular Prop. 1.7.11, 2.11.6, and above all 2.3.17–22, a passage in which Cynthia's image as *docta puella* is associated with the historical poet Sappho;[35] in this way, which suggestively evokes Propertius, the Ovidian Sappho confirms the learnedness of the historical woman poet. In addition, the Ovidian text resonates strikingly with Sappho's fragment 50:

ὀ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὄσσον ἴδην πέλεται <κάλος>,
ὀ δὲ κἄγαθος αὔτικα καὶ κάλος ἔσ<σε>ται.

Sappho fr. 50 Voigt

For he that is beautiful is beautiful as far as appearances go, while he that is good will consequently also be beautiful.

In particular 'he that is good will consequently also be beautiful' is recalled by *etiam formosa uidebar*, with *etiam* empathising the Greek καί; common to the two texts is the idea that virtue produces a greater and longer-lasting beauty than that provided by physical qualities only.[36]

Other than here, echoes of the original Sappho are of course variously and extensively present in the whole epistle,[37] and there is one in particular worth noting in the context of the present discussion a few lines further on. At lines 43–4 Sappho seeks some relief from her present pain in memory. The act of remembering the joy of the past in contrast with an unhappy present is a common process in elegiac poetry.[38] But in our epistle, in

[35] For this Propertian reference to Sappho see Heyworth, Chapter 10, pp. 201–4.

[36] The allusion to the Sapphic fragment also supports the text from the manuscripts. I actually do not see a strong difficulty in the first person singular *legerem*. The difficulty may rather be in the rare use of *etiam* at the beginning of a clause (compare *Met*. 8.879–80, '*quid moror externis? etiam mihi nempe nouandi est* | *corporis, o iuuenis, numero finita potestas*'). But as *etiam* matches with Sappho's text and adds an appropriate emphasis to the next *formosa*, I can easily support the manuscripts' reading.

[37] For further echoes of Sappho in *Heroides* 15, see Bessone (2003a, pp. 216–17), Thorsen (2014a, pp. 49–66), and Hunter, Chapter 2, pp. 48–50, and Thorsen, Chapter 13.

[38] See e.g. *o noctem meminisse mihi iucunda uoluptas* . . . (Prop. 1.10.3, 'what delightful pleasure for me to remember that night'); *nox erat incipiens—namque est meminisse uoluptas* (Ov. *Her*. 18.55, 'night was but just beginning—for the memory has charm for me'), which is followed by the description of the beginnings of Hero and Leander's passion; also . . . *iuuat o meminisse beati* | *temporis* (*Met*. 7.797, 'oh, what a joy it is . . . to remember the blessed time'), where Cephalus remembers the happy days with Procris.

addition to the narrative memory, what the heroine says as an aside activates a literary memory because it alludes again to Sappho's poetry and in particular to fragment 94, where Sappho, ahead of a painful departure, reminds the girl of the lovely time they spent together:[39]

τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω·
ἄ με ψισδομένα κατελίμπανεν
<–>
πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπέ [μοι·
ὤιμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν,
Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω.

τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν·
χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν
μέμναισ', οἶσθα γὰρ ὤς <σ>ε πεδήπομεν·

αἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω
ὄμναισαι [. . . (.)] . [. . (.)]εαι
ὅσ[- 10 -] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν·

πό[λλοις γὰρ στεφάν]οις ἴων
καὶ βρ[όδων . . .]κίων τ' ὔμοι
κἀ . .[- 7 -] πὰρ ἔμοι π<ε>ρεθήκα<ο>

καὶ πό[λλαις ὐπα]θύμιδας
πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ' ἀ]πάλαι δέραι
ἀνθέων ἐ[- 6 -] πεποημέναις.

καὶ π . . . . . [ ]. μύρωι
βρενθείωι .[ ]ρυ[. .]ν
ἐξαλ<ε>ίψαο κα[ὶ βασ]ιληίωι

καὶ στρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν
ἀπάλαν παρ[ ]ονων
ἐξίης πόθο[ν].νίδων

κωὔτε τις [οὔ] τε τι
ἶρον οὐδ' ὐ[ ]
ἔπλετ' ὄππ[οθεν ἄμ]μες ἀπέσκομεν,
<–>
οὐκ ἄλσος .[ ].ρος
]ψοφος
] . . . οιδιαι

Sappho fr. 94 Voigt

[39] Bessone (2003b, p. 138) according to whom *memini* is emphasized in the second degree: through this verb Ovid recalls Sappho's fragment, where the Greek poet in turn remembers a past experience: 'il segnale ovidiano della memoria letteraria (*memini*) è forse qui un segnale al quadrato: il ricordo di un ricordo.'

> . . . and honestly I wish I were dead. She was leaving me with many tears and said this: 'Oh what bad luck has been ours, Sappho; truly I leave you against my will.' I replied to her thus: 'Go and fare well and remember me, for you know how we cared for you. If not, why then I want to remind you . . . and the good times we had. You put on many wreaths of violets and roses and (crocuses?) together by my side, and round your tender neck you put many woven garlands made from flowers and . . . with much flowery perfume, fit for a queen, you anointed yourself . . . and on soft beds . . . you would satisfy your longing (for?) tender . . .).

The allusion is further supported by the fact that both the fragment and our text (especially ll. 45–6) feature in an erotic context. The use of *aptus* in l. 46 is particularly significant, as it can be considered a key word to express Ovidian flexibility in love. In erotic contexts, see e.g. *accedent questus, accedet amabile murmur | et dulces gemitus aptaque uerba ioco* (*Ars* 2.723–4, 'then she will complain, then she will lovingly murmur, and sweetly sigh, and utter words that fit the sport') and more clearly: *nec blandae uoces iucundaque murmura cessent | nec taceant mediis improba uerba iocis* (*Ars* 3.795–6, 'nor let winning sounds and pleasant murmurs be idle, nor in the midst of the play naughty words be hushed').[40] As Sappho recalls past joys, her artistic talent and amatory skills come together to form the ideal image of the *docta puella*.[41]

Sappho *magistra amoris*

Having thus contributed to significant coincidences of both the *excusatio uitiorum* and the *commendatio uirtutum* section with the *Ars amatoria*'s

[40] For the significance of *apte/aptus* as a buzzword for Ovidian erotopoetics, see Thorsen (2014a, p. 145).

[41] See: *huic, quia dulce canit flectitque facillima uocem, | oscula cantanti rapta dedisse uelim; | haec querulas habili percurrit pollice chordas: | tam doctas quis non possit amare manus?* (*Am*. 2.4.25–8, 'a silvery soprano tempts me to steal a coloratura kiss. If she plays the guitar *con amore*, her fingers tug at my heart-strings'). I read with Goold and McKeown *huic* rather than *haec* chosen by Lee. Elsewhere too singing is considered an instrument to win men's hearts: *res est blanda canor: discant cantare puellae | pro facie multis uox sua lena fuit. | et modo marmoreis referant audita theatris | et modo Niliacis carmina lusa modis. | nec plectrum dextra, citharam tenuisse sinistra | nesciat arbitrio femina docta meo* (*Ars* 3.315–20, 'a persuasive thing is song: let women learn to sing; with many voice instead of face has been their procuress. Let them repeat now ditties heard in marble theaters, now songs acted in the fashion of Nile; nor should a woman skilled as I would have her be ignorant how to hold the quill in her right hand and the lyre in her left'), and *disce etiam duplici genialia nablia palma | uerrere: conueniunt dulcibus illa locis* (*Ars*. 2.327–8, 'learn also to sweep with both hands the genial Phoenician harp; suitable it is to merry-making').

advice, Sappho moves forward and boosts her own confidence to such an extent that she soon becomes a teacher herself of the *ars amandi*. The development emerges in the address to the Sicilian girls on whom Phaon is focusing his attention:

> nunc tibi Sicelides ueniunt, noua praeda, puellae:
> quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelis esse uolo.
> o uos erronem tellure remittite uestra,
> Nisiades matres Nisiadesque nurus!
> nec uos decipiant blandae mendacia linguae:
> quae uobis dicit, dixerat ante mihi.
> tu quoque, quae montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos
> —nam tua sum—uati consule, diua, tuae.
> an grauis inceptum peragit fortuna tenorem
> et manet in cursu semper acerba suo?
>
> Ov. *Her*. 15.51–60

> Now new prey is yours—the maids of Sicily. What is Lesbos now to me? I would I were a Sicilian maid. Ah, send me back my wanderer, you Nisaean matrons and Nisaean maids, nor let the lies of his bland tongue deceive you! What he says to you, he had said before to me. You too, Erycina, who frequent the Sicanian mountains—for I am yours—protect your singer, O Lady! Can it be any grievous fortune will hold the ways it first began, and ever remain bitter in its course?

A number of heroes throughout the *Heroides* share one feature: they first flatter women before they ultimately abandon them.[42] Alternatively, when women try to be attractive and persuasive, this eventually turns out to be detrimental to them, as someone else ends up benefitting from their persuasion: *ei mihi! pro dira paelice* (*sc.* Helen) *blanda fui!* (*Her*. 5.60, *sc.* Oenone; 'ah me, it was for the sake of a cruel rival that my persuasive prayers were made!').

Sappho herself, who is the victim of Phaon's *blanditiae*, urges the *noua praeda* not to trust him. Once again, she anticipates the advice of the

[42] Examples include: *credimus blandis, quorum tibi copia, uerbis; | credimus generi nominibusque tuis; | credimus lacrimis: an et hae simulare docentur? | hae quoque habent artes, quaque iubentur, eunt?* (*Her*. 2.49–52, 'I had faith in your wheedling words, and you had good store of them; I had faith in your lineage, and in the names it shows; I had faith in your tears—or can these also be taught to feign; and are these also guileful, and ready to flow where bidden?'). Cf. also *sum decepta tuis et amans et femina uerbis* (*Her*. 2.65, 'I was deceived by your words—I, who loved and was a woman'); *uidi etiam lacrimas: an pars est fraudis in illis | sic cito sum uerbis capta puella tuis* (*Her*. 12.91–2, 'I saw also tears—they, too, played their part in the deception. Thus quickly was I ensnared, girl that I was, by your words').

Ars amatoria: *quae uobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis; | errat et in nulla sede moratur Amor* (*Ars* 3.435–6, 'what they tell you they have told a thousand women; their fancy wanders, and has no fixed abode') and *parcite, Cecropides, iuranti credere Theseo: | quos faciet testis, fecit et ante deos* (*Ars*. 3.457–8, 'you maids of Athens, believe not Theseus' oaths: the gods he will call to witness, he has called upon before'); and above all, the appeal to the Sicilian girls looks forward to Sappho's portrayal in *Tristia* 2: *Lesbia quid docuit Sappho, nisi amare, puellas? | tuta tamen Sappho, tutus et ille fuit* (*Trist*. 2.365–6, 'what did Lesbian Sappho teach girls if not love? Yet Sappho was secure, the Tean was also secure').[43] *Tristia*'s couplet explicitly gives Sappho a role as *praeceptor amoris* based on the strategies she has applied and the advice she has given throughout the epistle.[44]

Obviously, from Sappho's standpoint the advice to the Sicilian women is only a final attempt—after the *excusatio uitiorum* and the *commendatio uirtutum*—to avert the risk that Phaon, attracted by them, decides to never come back to her. It is Sappho herself who seemingly discloses this strategy unintentionally. In fact, after recommending the Sicilian girls not to trust Phaon, she gives herself up to a wish—to become Sicilian: *quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelis esse uolo* (*Her*. 15.52, 'What is Lesbos now to me? I would I were a Sicilian maid') since she well knows that Sicilian girls are the new target of Phaon's love.

Compared to the negative model of Phyllis, the heroine who was not able to *sapienter amare*,[45] Sappho appears in the *Ars* as a model especially when she features in an erotic context, cf. *nota sit et Sappho (quid enim lasciuius est illa?)* (*Ars* 3.331, 'let Sappho too be known (for what more wanton than she?)'). But more remarkably than the actual allusions, some of the strategies first applied by Sappho are resumed and improved

[43] For further interpretations of these lines, see also Ingleheart, Chapter 11, pp. 220–1.

[44] 'Il v. 365 . . . assegna alla poetessa lirica un ruolo da *praeceptor amoris* elegiaco che l'*Eroide* aveva già realizzato, prestando a Saffo movenze didascaliche con precisa rispondenza nell'*Ars*'. Bessone (2003a, p. 215, n. 19).

[45] See *dic mihi, quid feci, nisi non sapienter amaui?* (*Her*. 2.27, 'tell me, what have I done, except not wisely to love?'); *quaere, nouem cur una uiae dicatur, et audi | depositis siluas flere Phyllida flesse comis . . . quid uos perdiderit, dicam: nescistis amare; | defuit ars uobis: arte perennat amor* (*Ars* 3.37–42, 'ask why one way is called Nine Ways, and hear how the woods shed their leaves and wailed for Phyllis . . . . Shall I tell what led you all to ruin? You knew not how to love; it was skills you lacked; skill makes love unending'); and *uixisset Phyllis, si me foret usa magistro* (*Rem. am.* 55, 'Phyllis would have lived, had she used my counsels').

in the *Ars*, contributing to the success of other *puellae* searching for love, although not benefitting much herself from them. If Ovid as *praeceptor amoris* will pretend to regret his own advice in the late poem *Am.* 2.18.20 (*ei mihi, praeceptis urgeor ipse meis!*),[46] Sappho's role as forerunner (both in her capacity as a pupil and a preceptor) will be even less rewarding, bringing her anything but good based on her legendary afterlife. But in the Ovidian output the epistle plays a key role in anticipation of the *Ars amatoria*, and even of the double epistles, as the final appeal to Phaon—although hopeless—leaves the door open for the next step in the author's elegiac output.

[46] On the place of *Am.* 2.18 in the chronology of Ovid's early poetry, see Thorsen (2014a, pp. 9–38).

13

The Newest Sappho (2016) and Ovid's *Heroides* 15

Thea S. Thorsen

Sappho's poetry provides a rich backdrop for Ovid's *Heroides* 15.[1] This was seen to be all the more true upon the recovery of the newest Sappho,[2] through which we have gained unique insights into the organization of an example of an Alexandrian edition of Sappho's first book. A sequence of ten poems arranged in roughly alphabetical order has been identified, which clearly demonstrates that the Sapphic stanzas of Sappho's poetry encompassed lyric reflections on love and personal desire, as well as family issues and autobiography. In Roman literature, these two apparently disparate sets of themes—love and desire on the one hand, and family and autobiography on the other—are elegantly interwoven in Ovid's *Heroides* 15 in a manner that renders this poem unique in the reception of Sappho's poetry, as we now recognize in it the influence of the poems appearing in these most recently recovered papyri. As I hope to show, a number of echoes of fragments from this newly established sequence of Sappho's poetry, especially frr. 5, 15, 16, 16a, the 'Brothers Song', and the 'Kypris Song', may be discerned in crucial passages of Ovid's *Heroides* 15.

[1] See e.g. Treu (1953), Jacobson (1974, pp. 277–99), Dörrie (1975, *passim*), Bessone (2003b), Thorsen (2014a, pp. 49–66), and Elisei, Chapter 12.

[2] Bierl and Lardinois (2016).

Invocation of and Complaint to the Goddess of Love

Naturally, love and desire feature prominently in *Heroides* 15, as this poem belongs to Ovid's favourite genre of love elegy, here presented experimentally in the form of letters.[3] In the newest Sappho, the previously unknown 'Kypris Song' (Obbink) is among the fragments concerning love and desire:

πῶς κε δή τις οὐ θαμέ̣ω̣ς ἄσαι̣το,
Κύπρι, δέσπ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [δ]ὴ φί̣λ̣[ησι,]
[κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιστα πάθα̣ι̣ χ̣άλ̣[ασσαι;]
[ποῖ]ον ἔχησθα
[νῶν] ṣ́άλοισί μ' ἀλεμά̣ṭ̣ω̣ṣ δ̣α̣ι̣σ̣δ̣̃[ηνˉ] 5
[ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι}σαντι γ̣όν' ωμε̣-[x
[...] .α. α .. [..]α̣ι̣μ' ο̣ὐ̣π̣ρ̣ο[0–3] .ερηs[
[– ⏑]ν̣εερ .[.]α̣ι̣
[c.8]... [..]σέ, θέλω[⏑ – ×
[– ⏑ – × τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – × 10
[– ⏑ – × –] .αν, ἔγω δ'ἐμ' αὔταιˉ
τοῦτο σύνοιδα
[c.13]. [.]. τοις [....].
[c.13]εναμ
[15 [ ]. [.]. [
[c.12]

'Kypris Song' (Obbink)

How can someone not be hurt and hurt again, Kypris, Queen, whomsoever one really loves, and not especially want respite from suffering? What sort of thoughts do you have to pierce me idly with shiverings out of desire that loosens the knees [. . .] [. . .] not [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] you, I wish [. . .] [. . .] to suffer this [. . .] [. . .]. This I know for myself.[4]

The fragment includes an address and complaint to the goddess of love. In this, the poem seems to recall the opening hymn of the first book, Sappho 1. The plaintive qualities of that poem, however, seem more pronounced in the 'Kypris Song'. Accordingly, Renate Schlesier summarizes the pose of the *ego* in this poem (l. 10) as 'loving, but not loved'.[5] Notably, Ovid's Sappho, too, adopts the 'loving, but not loved' pose, when

[3] See e.g. Elisei, Chapter 12, and Thorsen (2014a).
[4] Translation by Obbink.
[5] Schlesier (2016).

she explains to her fickle beloved Phaon that: *non ut ames oro, me sed amare sinas* (*Her*. 15.96, 'I beg not for you to love, but for you to allow me to love'). As in the 'Kypris Song', the speaker of *Heroides* 15 is plaintive, and almost self-effacing.

Phaon is not the only addressee of *Heroides* 15: among several other addressees, Ovid's Sappho also invokes the goddess of love: *tu quoque quae montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos |—nam tua sum—uati consule, diua, tuae!* (*Her*. 15.96, 'you, who also visit the Sicilian mountains, Goddess of Eryx, give advice and pay heed to your bard—for I am yours!'). Thus *Heroides* 15, in the same way as Sappho poem 1 and the 'Kypris Song', explicitly underscores the privileged relationship between Sappho and the goddess. At the same time, the very Roman imperative *consule* in *Heroides* 15 discloses Sappho's mastery over her verses, as they paradoxically express both command and confusion—ideas which are arguably also at the heart of the two Sappho poems.

Furthermore, in both Sappho's 'Kypris Song' and Ovid's *Heroides* 15, the invocation of the goddess includes an epithet that precedes the noun (*Κύπρι, δέσπ̣οιν̣'*; *Erycina . . . diua*). In the 'Kypris Song' this seems a Sapphic touch, as '[i]n epic, Kypris never occurs with an epithet, and the epic epithets used for Aphrodite regularly precede the name of the goddess (see Boedeker (1973) 20 and 22–5) and do not follow it'.[6] In Ovid's *Heroides* 15, the epithet of the goddess that denotes her geographical affinties has a conspicuous Sicilian twist: Mount Eryx was a place of worship of the goddess in Sicily, which also had its cult at Rome.[7] Sicily is an important part of the setting of *Heroides* 15, as this is where Phaon is supposed to have run off to, prompting Ovid's Sappho to write her letter; hence the *quoque* in the couplet quoted above. Thus she implies that both Phaon and the goddess of love now roam the mountain of Eryx. However, as is well known, Sappho visited Sicily, too—a fact attested to in the *Parian Marble*.[8] In *Heroides* 15, Sappho's knowledge of the Erycian cult of the goddess gives an impression of familiarity with Sicily that may stem from her own exile on the island. Against the background of this possibility, which may be embedded in Ovid's invocation *Erycina diua*, it is worth noting that Obbink, on the basis of the fragments restored with the newest Sappho, suggests that they may indeed contain

[6] Schlesier (2016, p. 383, n. 55).
[7] See *RE* 7.A1.852–4, 855–6.
[8] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 18.

references to Sappho's exile in Sicily, notably in frr. 16a,[9] 17, 5 as well as in the 'Brothers Song'.[10]

Hetero- and Homoerotic Objects of Love

The other poem to focus most explicitly on love and personal desire in the newly recovered sequence of songs from Sappho's Alexandrian edition is the already well-known fragment 16 Voigt. While points of comparison between this fragment and *Heroides* 15 may seem few at first sight, the two poems share a striking vacillation between hetero- and homoeroticism. Sappho's fr. 16 is a poem of arresting complexities in this regard. Two persons are cast as loving subjects in what remains of the poem: in the first half, this role is fulfilled by Helen, and in the second half by the poem's poetic I. Although there are no grammatical markers to confirm the gender of this speaker, she is commonly thought to be Sappho herself. The loving subjects depicted in the poem are thus probably both female. However, the two persons who are cast in the role of the beloved in the poem are the man Paris in the first half and the woman Anactoria in the second half. The beloved is thus cast first as male and then as female in Sappho fr. 16.[11]

The fluidity of the speaker where the biological sex of her beloved is concerned, which is thus put on display in Sappho fr. 16, is present in *Heroides* 15 too. Here Sappho acknowledges that up to this point her beloveds have been female; in fact, she claims to have loved hundreds of girls, naming three of them (*Her*. 15.15–19), though she asks them to keep their distance now (*Her*. 15.201–2), because she has fallen in love with the handsome young Phaon. Thus, in the world of Ovid's Sappho, the beloved can appear as either male or female.

It has been pointed out that Sappho's love for girls is described as belonging to a past which is marked with incriminations (*quas non sine crimine amaui*, *Her.* 15.19 'those girls I loved, not without reproach') and scandal (*Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae*, *Her.* 15.201, 'Lesbians, you who, being loved, rendered me infamous'), whereas her preferred love for the young man Phaon belongs to the present. Hence, the Heroidean

[9] Obbink (2016b, p. 49). [10] Obbink (2016b, p 50).

[11] For further examples of heteroerotic pairs in homoerotic contexts, see Thorsen, Chapter 4, p. 89.

Sappho seems both 'heterosexualized' and 'set straight'.[12] However, this apparent change is not so complete as to prevent her from appealing to both hetero- *and* homoerotic parameters when explaining how she came to love Phaon:

> Quid mirum, si me primae lanuginis aetas
> abstulit, atque anni, quos uir amare potest?
> hunc ne pro Cephalo raperes, Aurora, timebam;
> et faceres, sed te prima rapina tenet.
> hunc si conspiciat, quae conspicit omnia, Phoebe,[13]
> iussus erit somnos continuare Phaon.
> hunc Venus in caelum curru uexisset eburno,
> sed uidet et Marti posse placere suo.
>
> (*Her.* 15.87–92)

What wonder if the age of first down has carried me away, and the years that a man can love? I feared that you, Aurora, would steal him in Cephalus' place—and so you would do, but that your first prey holds you still. If Phoebe, who beholds all things, beholds him, it will be Phaon she bids continue in his sleep; him Venus would have carried to the skies in her ivory car, but that she knows he might charm even her Mars.

The list of possible lovers of Phaon thus includes not only the woman Sappho, indicated by the passage's *me* (l. 87), but also any man (*uir*, l. 88), any of a number of illustrious pleasure-seeking goddesses,[14] and finally, suggestive as it may be, the very macho god Mars. Thus Sappho in *Heroides* 15 drives home a point that lies embedded in Sappho fr. 16: namely, that the beloved can variously belong to hetero- and homoerotic relationships.

Songs of Brotherly Sorrow

In terms of content, *Heroides* 15 strikingly matches the mixture of themes seen in the sequence of poems recently recovered in the newest Sappho. In addition to focusing on love and lament, *Heroides* 15 is conspicuously concerned with non-erotic themes from Sappho's autobiography. It is important to point out that these themes belong specifically to Sappho's

[12] See e.g. Gordon (1997), Harvey (1996), Lindheim (2003), and Hallett (2005).

[13] Knox (1995) follows the manuscript group ς (*codices recentiores aliquot uel pauci uel unus*) and prints *conspicias* and *conspicis* in line 89, I follow the forthcoming edition of Elisei, who prints the better-transmitted third-person *lectio*.

[14] Cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.83–8, and Thorsen (2014a, pp. 174–6).

life as presented in her own poetry, and not to her legendary after-life, to which both Phaon and the famous leap from the Leucadian rock—two other themes that feature prominently in *Heroides* 15—are believed to belong.[15]

The most prominent of Sappho's present concerns related to her family, both in the newest Sappho and in *Heroides* 15, is her relationship with her older brother, Charaxus.[16] The newest Sappho shows that Sappho's concern for Charaxus is a recurrent motif, appearing in as many as three of the ten poems in the newly recovered sequence. The following outline of the relationship between Sappho and her older brother as it appears through the new set of fragments will demonstrate how some of their important features resonate with *Heroides* 15, both generally and in its finer details.

Two of the fragments that focus on Sappho's relationship with her brother were known before the first discovery of the 'Brothers Song' in 2014: fr. 5 Voigt and fr. 15 Voigt. To one of these, fr. 5 (Obbink), considerable additions have emerged with the discovery of the newest Sappho:

⊗
πότνιαι Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]
τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι]
κὤττι ϝῷι θύμωι κε θέληι γένεσθαι
κηῦο τελέσθην,

ὄσσα δὲ πρόσθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦσα[ι] 5
καὶ φίλοισι ϝοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
κωὐίαν ἔχθροισι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
μηδάμα μηδ' εἰς·

τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι
[μέ]σδονος τίμας, [οὐ]ίαν δὲ λύγραν 10
[....]. [....]οτοισιπ[ά]ροιθαχεύων
[−⏑⏑−]. να
[−⏑−×]. εισαΐω[ν] τὸ κέγχρω
[− ⏑ −]λ' ἐπαγ[ορί]αι πολίταν

[15] Phaon is first mentioned in connection with the poetry of Sappho by Palaephatus in the fourth century BC, and in a fragment of Menander's *Leucadia*, both Sappho's unrequited love for Phaon and her subsequent leap into the sea from the Leucadian Rock feature; Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 306 for Palaephatus, and p. 309 for Menander; see also Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 36–7.

[16] Ovid's Sappho also lists the early death of her parent (father) and her worries for her daughter Cleis among her burdens (cf. *Her.* 15.61–2, 71).

ὤ̣ς̣ πο̣τ' ο̣ὐ̣[κ ἄ]λλως̣, [ἐσύ]νηκε δ' αὐτ̂' οὐ- 15
δὲν διὰ [μά]κρω.
καὶ τιμᾳ̣ [...]ον αι'κ[1–2]εο[.....] .ι
γνωσθ̣[.]..[.]ν· σὺ[δ]ὲ̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣ σ[έμ]να
ο̣υ̣κ̣ο̣ν̣ .[.....]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν[×
[.] .[.]..[.....]ι. [⊗?] 20

Sappho fr. 5 (Obbink)

Revered daughters of the sea god, grant that [my] brother may arrive here unharmed and whatsoever he should desire in his mind let that be completed. And as much as he has previously done wrong, that he atone for it all; that he be a pleasure to friends, and a harm to enemies—then may we never have any. And may he want to put his sister in a position of greater honour, since before he was suffering cruel agony at the hands of [...] [...] [...] hearing the [...] of the millet seed [...bu]t through the citizens' censure as is ever the case, and on the other hand he realized it not long after. And [...] if f[am]e [...know [...]. But you, hallowed Kypris, After an unendurable evil, [give...] [...][17]

In this poem, Sappho clearly prays to sea deities for the wellbeing of her brother, who would thus seem to be at sea. Through her prayer, the poet shows herself to be both caring and forgiving towards morally questionable actions on the part of her brother.

A similar pose is present in Sappho fr. 15, a fragment that is left in much the same state it was in before the newest Sappho, though the new discoveries do provide substantially more context to help in its interpretation:

[*c.*14]α̣ μάκαι̣[ρ-
[*c.*14] .υπλο̣.̀ό̣[
[*c.*14] .ατοσκα[
[*c.*12]
[ὄσσα δὲ̣ πρ]όσθ' [ἄμ]β̣ροτε κῆ̣ [να λῦσαι 5
[.....]αταις̣(.)ν̣εμ[⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[σὺν̣....]τύχαι λίμ̣ε̣νος κλ[⏑ – ×
[*c.*11].
[Κύ]πρι, κα[ίσ]επι[κροτ΄..]ανὲ̣ πεύρ[– ×
[μη]δὲ̣ καυχάσ[α]ι̣τ ο τόδ' ἐννέ̣[ποισα 10
[Δ]ωρίχα τὸ̣ δεύ[τ]ερον ως̣̂ ποθε[×
[...]ερονη̂̃λθε. [⊗]

Sappho fr. 15 (Obbink)

[17] Translation by Obbink (2016a).

> [. . .] blessed goddess [. . .] (may he?) give atonement for previous mistakes [. . .] with fair fortune (reach?) harbour [. . .], Kypris, and may (she?) find you [the cruellest], and may she, Doricha, not boast, telling of how he came a second time for a longed-for desire.[18]

Like the 'Kypris Song', this poem too has the qualities of a prayer (cf. *μάκαι*[*ρ-* and [*Κύ*]*πρι*), which indeed seems related to the poet's brother Charaxus. Furthermore, the fragment includes the partly restored name 'Doricha', onto which much of Sappho's sisterly distress can be pinned, as this is one of the names given to the prostitute with whom her brother fell in love and on whom he spent all the family's wealth.[19]

The poem, which appears first in the newly recovered sequence of the newest Sappho, can now be better understood in the context of both fr. 5, which is number seven in the sequence, and—especially—of the 'Brothers Song', which is number nine, and which, notably, provides the first mention of the name of Charaxus in Sappho's poetry:

[⊗]
[*π-* (?)
[1 or 5 lines missing]
[3–4]*λᾳ*[
[2–3]*σέμᾳ*[

ἀλλ᾽ ἄϊ θρύλησθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
ναῒ σὺν πλήαι. τὰ μέν οἴομαι Ζεῦς
οἶδε σύμπαντές τε θέοι· σὲ δ᾽οὐ χρῆ
ταῦτα νόησθαι,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεσθαι
πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασίληαν Ἤραν
ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
νᾶα Χάραξον

κἄμμ᾽ ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας. τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα
πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν·
εὐδίαι γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν
αἶψα πέλονται.

τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω
δαίμον᾽ ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μάκαρες πέλονται
καὶ πολύολβοι·

[18] Translation by Obbink (2016a).

[19] For the names, see p. 257.

κἄμμες, αἴ κε ϝὰν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη
Λάριχος καὶ δή ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν.

Sappho 'Brothers Song' (Obbink)

[p- (?) [1 or 5 lines missing] [3–4]la[[2–3]you (?), m[[20] But you are always chattering for Charaxus to come with a full ship. Zeus and all the other gods know these things, I think. But it is necessary for you to think these things. Summon me instead and commission me to beseech Queen Hera over and over again that Charaxus may arrive, piloting back here a ship that is safe, and find us safe and sound. Let us entrust all other things to the gods: for out of huge gales fair weather swiftly ensues. All of those whom the king of Olympus wishes a divinity as helper now turn them from troubles, become happy and richly blessed. And if Larichus lifts up his head, if only he might one day be an established man, the deep and dreary draggings of our soul we'd swiftly lift to joy.[21]

In this poem, as in fr. 15 and perhaps even fr. 5, Charaxus is at sea. In the 'Brothers Song', there seems even to have been a storm (lines 15–16), and the addressee of the poem tries to reassure Sappho[22] that Charaxus will nevertheless return safely. While these attempts at reassurance presuppose that Sappho cares for her brother, they obviously annoy the anxious sister. Assuming that everything will be fine is nonsense, she seems to imply; at all times the fate of men is in the hands of higher powers (lines 10–11). Consequently, rather than listening to empty chatter, Sappho would prefer to be told to appease the gods, specifically by means of a prayer to Hera (line 10). Thus, the gods Sappho invokes in her prayers for the wellbeing of her brother are the Nereids, Kypris, and, suggestively, Hera.

The three fragments draw a consistent picture of sisterly care and discontent, which, in the latter poem, seems to be related to Charaxus' affair with Doricha, called Rhodopis[23] in later sources, including Herodotus, who refers to Sappho's disapproval of the affair:[24] *Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν* (Hdt. 2.135, 'Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her

[20] The newest Sappho includes a very fragmentary first stanza, thus providing a new set of line-numbers different from those of the first edition of the poem; see Obbink (2014).

[21] Translation by Obbink (2016b); I have kept the English transliteration of the name of Sappho's elder brother, Charaxus.

[22] Following Obbink, I assume that the poem's 'I' is Sappho.

[23] And so Athenaeus, cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 312–13.

[24] And Posidippus, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 35.

freedom, returned to Mytilene and in a poem Sappho directed many galling words at him'). The verb *κατακερτομέω* is translated as 'I rail violently at' by Liddell and Scott, and though the three fragments about Charaxus express Sappho's unhappiness about him, none of them appears to be as aggressive as Herodotus implies that this 'one poem' must have been.[25] Given that the newest Sappho has provided us with a whole series of poems on Charaxus, we cannot rule out the possibility that there were more poems on the same topic in the Alexandrian edition—perhaps even some in which Sappho admonished Charaxus more harshly.

However, even if we have lost more of Sappho's songs about Charaxus, many of the details of the ones that we do now possess resonate strikingly with Ovid's *Heroides* 15. There are two passages in *Heroides* 15 in particular that echo Sappho fr. 15, fr. 5, and the 'Brothers Song' especially strongly:

> arsit iners[26] frater meretricis captus amore
> mixtaque cum turpi damna pudore tulit;
> factus inops agili peragit freta caerula remo,
> quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes.
> me quoque, quod monui bene multa fideliter, odit:
> hoc mihi libertas, hoc pia lingua dedit.
>
> *Her.* 15.63–8

> My art-less brother was caught in the flame of love for a prostitute, and suffered loss together with foul shame; reduced to need, he roams the dark blue sea with agile oar, and the wealth he lost by misbehaviour, once more he seeks by misbehaviour. As for me, because I often warned him well and faithfully, he hates me; this is what my frankness has brought me, this my pious tongue.

Here neither Doricha nor Charaxus is mentioned by name, yet it is clearly their affair that Ovid's Sappho refers to. The Heroidean Sappho also refers to the wealth that Charaxus allegedly spent on the prostitute, which Herodotus recalls thus:[27]

[25] This point may not be as serious as it might seem, as Herodotus deviates from the text of Sappho with which we are familiar on other points, such as the name of the prostitute, whom Sappho calls Doricha.

[26] As suggested by Oudendorp, cf. Elisei (forthcoming, *ad loc.*).

[27] See also *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1.4–6: *πρεσβύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον, ὃς πλεύσας ϵ[ἰς Αἴγυπτον] Δωρίχαι τινι προσϵ[νϵχθϵ]ἰς κατεδαπάνησεν ϵἰς ταύτην πλεῖστα.* ('Charaxus, the eldest, who sailed to Egypt and associated with one Doricha, spending large sums on her'), cf. Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 369–71.

Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. Hdt. 2.135

Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of money freed for the practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the maker of the art of the Muses.

As seen in the passage quoted above, there is a reference at *Heroides* 15.66 to Charaxus' business at sea, which, as has been pointed out,[28] when viewed against the background of the 'Brothers Song', may imply wine-trading rather than piracy, as was previously assumed.[29]

The next passage of relevance in *Heroides* 15 takes the conflict between the siblings further, and concretizes Charaxus' ingratitude and general scornfulness towards his sister, albeit in a situation that seems to pertain entirely to the fiction of *Heroides* 15 and not to the poetry of Sappho: namely, Charaxus' maliciously mocking behaviour on the occasion of Phaon's departure:

gaudet et e nostro crescit maerore Charaxus
frater, et ante oculos itque reditque meos,
utque pudenda mei uideatur causa doloris,
'quid dolet haec? certe filia uiuit' ait.

Her. 15.117–20

Joy swells my brother Charaxus' heart as he sees my woe; he passes before my eyes, and passes again; and, purposing to make the cause of my grief appear immodest, he says: 'Why does she grieve? Surely her daughter lives!'

This attempt by Charaxus to give Sappho a bad conscience by reminding her of her responsibility as a mother seems to resonate, when seen from Sappho's point of view, with the last lines of the completely new fr. 16a (Obbink):] *α̣τ'· ὅττινας γὰρ | εὖ θ̣έω, κηῖοί με μάλιστα σίννον- | τ'ἐξ̣ἀδοκή* [*τω.*] ⊗ ('For whomsoever I treat favourably, those most of all harm me without warning').[30] Considering how Ovid's Sappho insists on her loyalty and on how well meant her admonitions are in the previous Heroidean passage (cf. *fideliter* and *pia lingua*, ll. 67–8), where she also claims that Charaxus only hates her in return (cf. *odit*, l. 68), the description of

[28] Thorsen (2014a, pp. 58–63) and Morgan (2016, p. 300).
[29] Campbell (1982, p. 16, n. 1) and Knox (1995, p. 292).
[30] Translation, Obbink (2016a).

Charaxus' disloyal and malicious behaviour at the departure of Phaon seems indeed to capture the 'harm without warning' that may be inflicted on the poet from those whom she does 'treat favourably'.

In addition to these larger patterns of overlapping themes, there are a number of smaller features that bind the newest Sappho and *Heroides* 15 further together. Firstly, with the recovery of the 'Brothers Song', the name of Sappho's brother Charaxus is attested in the poet's own verse for the first time in her corpus as it is known to us. The newest Sappho thus provides a unique and striking link with *Heroides* 15, as 'Charaxus' referring to the brother of Sappho occurs only once in the whole of Latin literature, in line 117 of this poem[31]—a fact that e.g. *OLD* fails to note. Now that the name has been confirmed in the extant corpus of Sappho, the singular occurrence of this name as referring to Sappho's brother in Ovid's *Heroides* 15 provides a conspicuous link between the two.

Another feature in common between fr. 15, fr. 5, and the 'Brothers Song' on the one hand and Ovid's *Heroides* 15 on the other, is the stress laid on the caring loyalty of the sister, which is met with the opposite sentiment from her brother. In *Heroides* 15, the words *fideliter* and *pia lingua* at lines 67–8 (in reference to Sappho's admonitions) underscore this point. *pia lingua* may recall not only the goodness of Sappho's words, but also her repeated concern for the gods: her prayers form an important part of Sappho's Charaxus fragments, as we have seen in their invocations of the Nereids, Hera, and Kypris.

The fragments about the brothers and the 'Brothers Song' all testify to a conflict between Sappho and her brother. But these fragments also testify to Sappho's sustained eloquence in the face of this familial conflict, as is also underscored by Herodotus. This is really quite remarkable: Sappho, a woman, clearly chooses to speak her mind about a male family member, and disapprovingly at that. Sappho's frankness in the fragments about her brother Charaxus thus resembles her frankness in the face of another man, Alcaeus, who even appears as a *silenced* man, according to Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (1367a8–10), where he recalls this famous bit of lyrical dialogue between the two lyric poets:[32]

[31] The only other occurrence of this name is also in Ovid, of a Lapith at *Met.* 12.273, cf. Bömer (1982, p. 101). I am grateful to Stephen Harrison for pointing this out to me.

[32] See also Hunter, Chapter 2, p. 49, Thévenaz, Chapter 6, pp. 132–6, and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, p. 307.

θέλω τί τ᾽ εἴπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει
αἴδως . . . . . .
[αἰ δ᾽ ἦχες ἔσλων ἴμερον ἢ κάλων
καὶ μή τί τ᾽ εἴπην γλῶσσ᾽ ἐκύκα κάκον,
αἴδως †κέν σε οὐκ† ἦχεν ὄππατ᾽
ἀλλ᾽ ἔλεγες †περὶ τῶ δικαίω].

Sappho fr. 137 Voigt

[Alcaeus:] I want to say something but shame prevents me . . .

[Sappho:] Yet if you had a desire for good or beautiful things and your tongue were not concocting some evil to say, shame would not hold down your eyes but rather you would speak about what is just.

This famous moment between Sappho and Alcaeus, as well as Sappho's fragments about her brother Charaxus, attest to Sappho's frankness. Fittingly, this frankness, *libertas*, is precisely what Sappho claims to be her bane where her brother is concerned at *Heroides* 15.68.[33]

The newly retrieved Sappho 16a, with its gnomic statement about fate and human life, may also relate to similar observations expressed in *Heroides* 15:

[⊗?]
[ὄλβιον] μὲν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
[πάμπ]α̣ν ἄνθρωπ[ον· π]εδέχην δ᾽ ἄρασθαι
[ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν. ἔγω] δ̣᾽ ἔμ᾽ αὔται
[τοῦτο σύνοιδα.]

Sappho 16a

It is not possible for a human being to be completely fortunate; but one may pray to enjoy a share of happiness. This I know for myself.[34]

In Sappho's fragments about her brother Charaxus, there remains some optimism about the destiny that is in the hands of the gods (cf. especially the fifth stanza). A similar kind of positivity is expressed in the hope voiced in fr. 16a, that one can 'pray to enjoy a share of happiness'. Compared to these general observations on the human condition, however anchored in the poet's personal experience, the observation of

[33] Although the fragmentary state of Sappho fr. 18 (Obbink) only allows us to speculate, the clear indications of direct speech prompts questions of possible relevance to the *libertas* theme here, too, cf. '[r]emarkably, the poem began with three line-initial words having to do with speech' (Obbink, 2016b, p. 49).

[34] Translation by Obbink (2016a).

Sappho as she enters into her catalogue of familial calamities in *Heroides* 15 seems to acquire a quality of retrospection: *an grauis inceptum peragit fortuna tenorem | et manet in cursu semper acerba suo?* (*Her*. 15.59–60, 'Can it be my grievous fortune will hold the way it first began, and ever remain bitter in its course?'), Sappho asks.[35] Thus, 'now' in the 'present' poem of *Heroides* 15—composed at a later stage in literary history—Sappho appears much less confident about fate. This link between the 'Brothers Song' and *Heroides* 15 is strengthened by the word δαίμον' ('Brothers Song', line 18), which can mean 'destiny',[36] and in that sense seems to relate to the *fortuna* of *Heroides* 15.59. The speaker's outlook on destiny, which in Sappho fr. 16a (Obbink) and the 'Brothers Song' could provide a potentially positive outcome, has now, in *Heroides* 15, turned to disappointment, fulfilling the generic requirements of elegy as *flebile carmen* (*Her*. 15.7, 'tearful song'), which also potentially lies embedded in much of the newest Sappho.

Uniquely Sapphic

In the light of the newest Sappho, *Heroides* 15 appears uniquely Sapphic. As shown throughout this volume and not only in this chapter, the relationship between Sappho's brother Charaxus and the prostitute is well attested in Greek sources: firstly by Sappho herself, who wishes for Doricha to stop boasting about returning to some love, probably that of Charaxus (cf. fr. 15.10), and who expresses sustained discontent with the behaviour of her brother. Herodotus, Chamaleon, Posidippus, and Strabo refer more explicitly to the affair between Charaxus and the prostitute, all stressing the idea that Charaxus spent a lot of his family's wealth on her. Herodotus first provides us with the significant piece of information, now confirmed by the newest Sappho, that she chastized her brother for this affair in her poetry. In line with these claims, Sappho's own poetry elaborates on the distress caused by the conflict with her brother from her point of view. Significantly, the newest Sappho also demonstrates that there were Alexandrian editions of Sappho Book 1, copied in the Roman era, in which Sappho's sisterly distress is framed by a series of poems that mix themes of love and personal desire with

[35] See also Morgan (2016, p. 300).
[36] Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. δαίμων (I); see also Thorsen (2014a, pp. 62–3).

elements pertaining to family concerns. Furthermore, within this series, Sappho builds up a larger framework of the human condition and cosmic order, in which the goddess of love is an ever-present power that readily turns both males and females into objects of love.

In the history of Sapphic receptions, only Ovid's *Heroides* 15 embraces all of these details: the privileged relationship between Sappho and the goddess of love, the fluidity of hetero- and homoerotics, the regret over the relationship between Charaxus and the prostitute, and the wealth he squandered on her. Even the Herodotean detail about the chastizing poem is included in *Heroides* 15, inasmuch as this, by virtue of its form, is itself precisely such a poem. Most importantly, *Heroides* 15 includes descriptions of how this was all experienced, emotionally as well as intellectually, from the poet's point of view.

Thanks to the newest Sappho, we now know that *Heroides* 15 not only includes a unique series of details that feature in Sappho's own poetry, such as Charaxus' name, her own sisterly loyalty, her striking frankness, and her undeserved misfortune; we can also appreciate how the poem invokes the same larger cosmic framework of Sappho's contradictory life of love and family constraints, expertly transposed into the experimental Latin love elegy of Ovid's *Heroides*. In short: thanks to the newest Sappho we now know that *Heroides* 15 is among the most rare and most precious examples of Sappho's Roman reception that we possess today.

14

Sappho in Roman Epigram

Gideon Nisbet

Introduction

That Latin elegy[1] seemingly invokes Sappho so infrequently may surprise us.[2] Her near-absence from a related genre—Latin epigram—is not merely startling; it is positively suspicious. This chapter begins by supplying some context, but its core argument engages with just three poems by Martial, by far the most prolific and important epigrammatist in Latin. Since scholarship on epigram is frequently highly selective in its references to the sources, it bears stressing at the outset that these three poems are the sum total of Martial's explicit engagement with Sappho's name, works, and ancient biographical tradition.

The chapter will suggest that this near-total absence of Sappho from his twelve-book *magnum opus* must be read with a wary eye, in the context of the poet's ongoing self-fashioning as the literary heir of Catullus.[3] Martial famously opens his first book by construing a model reader who will interpret the text attentively—his *lector studiosus* (1.1.4). Like his contemporary Juvenal, he trains us to take his authorial posturing with a grain of salt, and this includes his avowed relation of indebtedness to specified Latin poetic predecessors, beginning as early as the prose preface to Book 1:

> . . . excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur. Mart. 1, *praef.*

[1] I thank Diana Spencer and Francesca Sapsford for their helpful feedback on drafts of this chapter, and Thea S. Thorsen and Stephen Harrison for their thoughtful suggestions for improvement.

[2] See e.g. Hunter, Chapter 2, *passim* and Heyworth, Chapter 10, *passim*.

[3] Martial's reception of Catullus is the subject of a dedicated study by Swann (1994).

I would apologize [for my use of rude words] if I was the first to do it; but that's how Catullus writes, and Marsus, and Pedo, and Gaetulicus, and anyone else who gets read all the way through.

We are surely meant to find it strange that a poet who purports to model himself so assiduously on Catullus should appear to marginalize the poetic predecessor on whom Catullus himself had placed so much emphasis—and who embodied excellence in short verse, to a degree that was by Martial's time practically proverbial.

Let us begin, though, with a relatively brief exploration of context.

Sappho and Martial's Generic Context

Sappho in Greek epigram of the Roman period

Sappho appears repeatedly as a topic in the *Greek Anthology*, including some poems in which a Roman connection is strong. One author whose literary output bridges the gap between cultures is Tullius Laureas, or Laurea in Latin sources. Laureas' intriguing name has long led critics (including Paton, the editor of the *Anthology*'s useful Loeb) to presume identity with the freedman of Cicero, Laurea Tullius, named and quoted by the elder Pliny (*NH* 31.3.6–8) as the author of elegiac verses in Latin.[4] His eight-line imaginary epitaph for Sappho in Greek is one of five such poems by miscellaneous authors to appear in Book 7 of the *Greek Anthology*.[5] The ekphrastic topic had hit its peak of elaboration a century before, with Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* 7.407).[6] This late Hellenistic era also leaves us several Sappho poems by Antipater of Sidon, including another fictional epitaph (*Anth. Pal.* 7.14).[7] Through Meleager's *Garland*, in which they are well represented, these poets bequeathed to Rome a template for generic Sappho-appreciation in epigrammatic form.

In Laureas' version, her tomb assures the literary passer-by that, although its own stones will swiftly perish and be forgotten (3–4), Sappho's lyric is destined to live forever, read each day till the end of time.

[4] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 14 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 323–4.
[5] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 323–4.
[6] See Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 347–8.
[7] See Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 97–8 and Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 315–16.

Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰών, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν
τὰν Μυτιληναίαν ἔννεπ' ἀοιδοπόλον·
τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες· ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν
ἐς ταχινὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα.
ἢν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσῃς χάριν, ὧν ἀφ' ἑκάστης
δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῇ θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι,
γνώσεαι, ὡς Ἀΐδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον· οὐδέ τις ἔσται
τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἠέλιος.

Anth. Pal. 7.17

Stranger passing by an Aeolian tomb, do not say call me dead—I, the bard of Mytilene. For *this* [the tomb] was the handiwork of men, but such deeds of mortals pass into swift oblivion. But if you sought me out for the Muses' sake, from each of whose powers I placed a flower beside my nine [books], you would realize that I escaped utterly the gloom of the Underworld; and that the day will never come when lyric Sappho is forgotten.

A much more major epigrammatist also bridges the gap between Greek and Roman literary cultures. He is Philodemus of Gadara, famously influential on Horace and Vergil in the mid-first century, when these and other authors perhaps mingled at the villa of Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus at Herculaneum (the 'Villa of the Papyri'). Marcello Gigante even credits Philodemus with having introduced a statue of Sappho into the villa's decorative scheme, which he suggests mirrored, in three dimensions, the Greek intellectual's own activity there as a literary critic and theorist.[8] Statues, Sappho, and epigram are a heady mix, as we will see again later in this chapter.

Philodemus' erotic poems are an important 'gateway drug' for Roman authors coming to epigram, but the surviving epigrams contain only a solitary mention of Sappho. In poem 12 in Sider's edition of the epigrams,[9] the unavailable ideal of a girl who has Sappho's verses by heart (*ἄδουσα τὰ Σαπφοῦς*, line 7) sounds very much like an early version of Roman elegy's *docta puella*; for all we know, she may already be a literary cliché derived from late Hellenistic authors, who certainly set up named female characters as figureheads for their poetics from time to time (as e.g. Antimachus in his *Lyde*).[10] In any case, as a down-to-earth Epicurean, Philodemus declares himself happy to settle for an intellectually unambitious girlfriend with a body to die for.

[8] Gigante (1995, p. 47). [9] Sider (1997).

[10] For more on this tradition, see e.g. Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 40 and Gram, Chapter 5, pp. 99–100.

Philodemus and Sappho share a few topoi, which can be followed up through Sider's index, but these are commonplaces. For Philodemus (5.3–4 Sider) as for Sappho (fr. 58.12–14), for instance, the advent of grey hair signals both the onset of old age, and release from the demands of sexual desire. Certainly Philodemus knew Sappho's text well enough—he is the source for one of our fragments, calling Peitho 'the golden-glimmering handmaiden of Aphrodite' (fr. inc. 23 LP)—but in *On Poems* he defines Sapphic lyric as something quite distinct from epigram. The rhetoric of the passage seems to go further, implying that they are as different from each other as two modes of composition can be, while still both qualifying as poetry. I quote from David Armstrong's translation of Book 5, presented as an Appendix to Obbink's landmark edition of this dauntingly fragmented text:[11]

> . . . for if he [a hypothetical interlocutor rather than a named critic] means *poesis* of any kind, the epigrammatists' and Sappho's included, that just means the good poet is the composer of good poetry, *poemata*, which we grasped 'before Theognis was born' . . .

Philodemus leaves no room for argument: 'before Theognis was born' is a figure of speech for what has always been obvious.

In late antiquity we find Damocharis' ekphrasis of a (perhaps imaginary) painting of Sappho. Known through the *Cycle* compiled in the sixth century by his friend Agathias, Damocharis is fascinatingly written up by Alan and Averil Cameron,[12] and his poem is grippingly intricate:

> *Αὐτή σοι πλάστειρα Φύσις παρέδωκε τυπῶσαι*
> *τὴν Μιτυληναίαν, ζωγράφε, Πιερίδα.*
> *πηγάζει τὸ διαυγὲς ἐν ὄμμασι· τοῦτο δ' ἐναργῶς*
> *δηλοῖ φαντασίην ἔμπλεον εὐστοχίης.*
> *αὐτομάτως δ' ὁμαλή τε καὶ οὐ περίεργα κομῶσα*
> *σὰρξ ὑποδεικνυμένην τὴν ἀφέλειαν ἔχει.*
> *ἄμμιγα δ' ἐξ ἱλαροῖο καὶ ἐκ νοεροῖο προσώπου*
> *Μοῦσαν ἀπαγγέλλει Κύπριδι μιγνυμένην.*
>
> *Anth. Pal.* Planudean Appendix 310

> Nature the Modeller herself entrusted to you, painter of this portrait, the ability to capture the likeness of the Muse of Mytilene. Brilliant clarity wells up in her eyes, and this trait transparently reveals an imagination brimming with perfect word-choices. Her skin, naturally smooth without an elaborate toilette, intimates her characteristic simplicity. The blend of joy and pensiveness in her expression reports to us the Muse mingled with Aphrodite.

[11] Obbink (1995, p. 268).

[12] Cameron and Cameron (1966, p. 11).

The personified Nature herself, we are told, gave 'the Muse of Mytilene' to the painter as his subject—or perhaps (the verb is παραδίδωμι) imparted special knowledge, as a teacher does to a student. Consequently, the artist's inspired recreation of Sappho's form in paint can also stand in for, and recreate the effect of, her body of work—by now, itself practically lost. The painted Sappho's unblemished skin thus mirrors the immaculacy of her verse style, and the mixed emotions seen in her face declare her dual nature as Muse of poetry and goddess of love.[13] Gleaming brilliance wells up in her painted eyes as from a spring, vividly revealing, in Paton's neat Loeb translation, a 'fancy full of happy images'. Paton must mean 'happy' in the sense of 'fortunate' or 'apposite': εὐστοχία's basic meaning is 'skill in shooting at a mark', and the term is applied figuratively both to the hands of a craftsman and to a well-ordered memory, both appropriate comparators to Sappho at work.

The uses of Sappho in Greek epigram of this late period would surely repay more investigation—Damocharis is perhaps only the start of the story.[14] As a poet of late antiquity, he usefully illustrates the durability of Sappho as a subject for epigram in Greek, making her almost complete absence in Martial even more intriguing—the more so as he draws repeatedly on contemporary or near-contemporary Greek models.[15]

Sappho in Roman epigram before and after Martial

Martial is not the first or last Latin epigrammatist to invoke Sappho's famous reputation and life story, whether as sublime female poet or impassioned lover. A predecessor, Valerius Aedituus (first century BC), models an epigram with a Greek-named addressee on a still-famous passage of Sappho, in an anecdote preserved some two centuries later in Aulus Gellius' miscellany, *Attic Nights*:

> dicere cum conor curam tibi, Pamphila, cordis,
> quid mi abs te quaeram, uerba labris abeunt,
> per pectus manat subito <subido> mihi sudor;
> sic tacitus, subidus, dum pudeo, pereo.
>
> Valerius Aedituus fr. 1 = Gell. 19.9.10

[13] Diana Spencer suggests to me that Damocharis may be alluding to and amplifying Horace's famous claim that 'poetry is like painting' (Hor. *AP* 361).

[14] See notably Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006b), on responses to Sappho's life and text in the sixth-century erotic poet, Paul the Silentiary.

[15] Burnikel (1980) is fundamental; see also Sullivan (1991, pp. 85–93), and, on the Greek 'skoptic' epigrammatists of the early centuries AD, Nisbet (2003).

> When I try to tell you how I feel for you, Pamphila, and what I would like to have from you, the words desert my lips. Immediately sweat pours over my breast—me, the sensible one; I'm as sensible as I am silent, and all the time I am bashful, I am pining away by love.

The echoes of Sappho's famous fr. 31 are very clear, and the poem is cited in a context of emulation of and patriotic rivalry with the masters of Greek love poetry: Anacreon, Sappho, and unnamed Hellenistic elegists, all of whose verses are said to suit a sympotic context. The three early Latin erotic epigrammatists whose names are advanced by Gellius' teacher of rhetoric on this perhaps not entirely real occasion—Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Lutatius Catulus—are identical to a list found in Apuleius (Apul. *Apol.* 9), and the coincidence has been read as supporting the idea of a lost anthology of early Latin epigrams, known to both these second-century authors. Alternatively, perhaps they were just swapping early drafts.[16]

Unlike his longer poems,[17] Catullus' epigrams are thin on Sapphic allusion. In at least one longer poem early in the extant text, Hellenistic epigram (Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 7.195–6) counterpoints Sapphic lyricism as a generic model.[18] We are surely meant to take this as a virtuoso exercise in merging two incompatible modes—Catullus is following the party line of late Hellenistic metapoetics, in agreement with Philodemus.

Much later (fourth century AD), Sappho will appear in two poems by Ausonius (35 and 103 in Kay's edition). Although these poems fall outside the proper scope of the present volume, the first of them is particularly intriguing in its bilingualism: it shifts from Latin to Greek at the turn from hexameter to pentameter—and simultaneously flips Muses in the other direction. This Sappho lives in the interface between literary cultures and taxonomies, a transliterated tenth Muse for Romans in Greek (Aonides) and Greeks in Latin (Pierians).[19]

> Lesbia Pieriis Sappho soror addita Musis
> *εἶμ' ἐνάτη λυρικῶν, Ἀονίδων δεκάτη.*
>
> Auson. *Epigr.* 103

> *Moi*, Lesbian Sappho, an additional sister to the Pierian Muses, *je suis la neufième des lyristes, mais des filles d'Aon je suis la dixième.*

[16] See Vardi (2000) and, briefly Morelli (2007, pp. 531–2).
[17] See esp. Hunter, Chapters 2 and 8 and Gram, Chapter 5.
[18] Ingleheart (2003).
[19] For a brief discussion see Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, p. 131).

Extant Latin epigram outside Martial, then, offers relatively thin pickings for the Sappho fan. However, since the overwhelming preponderance of Latin epigram is by Martial, this does not make his near-total silence on Sappho any less strange.[20]

Sappho in Pompey's portico?

Potentially much more closely connected to the first-century AD Rome of Martial's corpus are poems on Sappho by Antipater of Thessalonica. Teasing out one Antipater from another is a thankless task, but he should not be confused with the Antipater of Sidon briefly mentioned above (p. 266) and discussed more extensively by Gram elsewhere in this volume.[21] A poet of the *Garland* of Philip, he enjoyed the patronage of a second Piso—Calpurnius Piso called 'the pontifex', son of Caesoninus and consul in 15 BC, and whose generosity is celebrated in many of Antipater's poems.

One of these (*Anth. Pal.* 9.26) has been thought to allude to a contemporary built context within Rome itself. Expanding on the Hellenistic cliché that identified Sappho as an honorary Muse, and on her association with the number nine (the number of her books in the standard edition), it catalogues nine famous women poets as Earth's nine mortal counterparts of the heavenly Muses:

> *Τάσδε θεογλώσσους Ἑλικὼν ἔθρεψε γυναῖκας*
> *ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδὼν Πιερίας σκόπελος,*
> *Πρήξιλλαν, Μοιρώ, Ἀνύτης στόμα, θῆλυν Ὅμηρον,*
> *Λεσβιάδων Σαπφὼ κόσμον ἐϋπλοκάμων,*
> *Ἤριννα, Τελέσιλλαν ἀγακλέα καὶ σέ, Κόριννα,*
> *θοῦριν Ἀθηναίης ἀσπίδα μελψαμέναν,*
> *Νοσσίδα θηλύγλωσσον ἰδὲ γλυκυαχέα Μύρτιν,*
> *πάσας ἀενάων ἐργάτιδας σελίδων.*
> *ἐννέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανός, ἐννέα δ' αὐτὰς*
> *Γαῖα τέκεν, θνατοῖς ἄφθιτον εὐφροσύναν.*
>
> Antipater of Thessalonica, *Anth. Pal.* 9.26

These are the heavenly tongued women whom Helicon and the Macedonian mount of Pieria nourished with songs: Praxilla; Moero; singing Anyte, the female Homer; Sappho, who does credit to the Lesbian women with their

[20] On the essential absence of a 'Latin epigram tradition' see briefly Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, p. 105).

[21] Gram, Chapter 5, p. 98.

> beautiful hair; Erinna; Telesilla, most glorious, and you, Corinna, who sang the warlike shield of Athena; Nossis of the gentle voice, and Myrtis of the sweet echo. All are the craftswomen of pages from which verse will flow forever. Great Heaven brought forth nine Muses, and Earth bore nine as well, to bring eternal good cheer to mortals.

In the second century, the ascetic theologian Tatian (*Against the Greeks* 33–4) gives us what purports to be a list of the many female statues he saw in a particular spot at Rome (we are not told where) and names their sculptors; almost all the above names are among the works he cites, albeit dismissively and in a crudely propagandistic context.[22] Ann Kuttner (1999) has vigorously argued that Tatian's list may be mapped onto a likely ancient venue for this tableau of earthly Muses: the portico garden of the leisure complex attached to Pompey's Theatre.[23] If we could tie Antipater's poem to some of these statues, then the 'Corinna' of line 5 would also be a work of Silanion, and the 'Praxilla' will have been by Lysippus; Erinna, by Naucydes, Myrtis, by Boiscus, Myro, by Cephistodotus and Anyte, by Cephistodotus and Euthycrates (there is no Nossis in Tatian's list).[24] The roll-call of earthly Muses is rounded out by the famous Sappho by Silanion which Verres had looted from Syracuse, an act of cultural vandalism and/or sexual predation famously berated by Cicero (*Verr.* 4.57).[25] Kuttner sees in Antipater's poem 'certainly an ekphrastic address, to images before which the poet stands'—in other words, to a distinctly composed statue-group, towards which the poet is physically gesturing as he composes or performs his poem (*Τάσδε*, 'These' and *ἰδὲ* 'look'). All that remains is to speculate boldly on exactly where they were sited, and how they must have been arranged.[26]

This argument pushes the evidence very hard. By Kuttner's own reading of Tatian's list, the statues in Pompey's complex illustrated a bewilderingly miscellaneous range of narratives and themes (my emphases):

[22] Cf. Thorsen (2012 and 2014b).

[23] On this complex see most recently, and in some detail, Spencer (2010, pp. 168–70).

[24] Though there is one Nossis in the critical apparati of editions of Tatian's text since the suggestion was made in the nineteenth century, see below and the introduction of Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 367–9.

[25] On this statue, discussed elsewhere in this volume by Thorsen (pp. 29–32), see Rosenmeyer (2007).

[26] Kuttner (1999, p. 361).

'[i]n honour of Venus, the Lucretian mother of culture, Pompey assembled female authors, virgins and matrons whose own poetic themes (war, love, and Aphrodite votives) suited his museum for Venus *Victrix*, and great courtesans who were friends to artists, 'authors', and statesmen.'[27]

Even if its basis was a visit to Pompey's portico—and there are quite good grounds for believing that it was (Pliny at *HN* 7.34 confirms that two of the statues which would later be listed by Tatian were in the portico in his day)—Tatian's list is in any case probably not a full and faithful inventory of the statues he saw: thematic unity lay in the eye of the individual ancient beholder. Citing Varro as his source for what was there, the elder Pliny lists not poets and harlots, but female personifications of the nations—figures whom Tatian perhaps edits out of his record because they do not lend themselves to his agenda of anti-pagan diatribe.[28] Nor can Antipater's use of *Τάσδε* bear the weight asked of it by Kuttner. These fictions of presence have a long and subtle history in Hellenistic epigram, as recently demonstrated by Tueller (2008). As Gow and Page (*ad loc.*) remark in passing, Hellenistic scholarly culture bequeaths us a great many canon-spotters' lists like this one, in and out of the *Anthology*. Establishing a list of mortal Muses gives Antipater nine vacancies to fill. Since he has very few famous female poets to choose from, the overlap with Tatian's longer list could easily be simple coincidence. There is nothing here that will seem at all out of place in an imaginary ekphrasis, for a reader familiar with other epigrams in the same idiom—of which the *Anthology* preserves many.

As icing on the cake, Thea Thorsen points out to me that the name of Nossis only appears in Tatian's list as a consequence of nineteenth-century emendation of his problematically preserved text: previously she was 'Mystis'. Recent archaeological work around Rome's Largo Argentina tantalisingly suggests that a statue of Mystis—whoever she is—did indeed stand in or near Pompey's portico complex. This find underwrites the already widely shared assumption that Tatian's list

[27] Kuttner (1999, p. 348 (my emphases)).

[28] *HN* 36.4.41: *quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium*. In isolation the 'Pompeium' could be either the theatre or the portico, but Pliny's art-historical discussion immediately moves on to two further sites at which a portico context is specified (36.4.42), cf. also Suet. *Ner*. 46. There were also Apollo and the Muses and famously the statue of Pompey himself: Plut. *Caes*. 66.

relates to this site, while at the same time making the 'nine earthly Muses' interpretation look rather less secure.[29]

There is no way these interlinked questions can ever really be settled: an author famous enough to receive a statue is certainly famous enough to be the topic of imaginary ekphrasis and prosopopoeia. Also, given the number of statues being brought onto the site, the conceit of equating female poets with the nine Muses could easily have come to Pompey (or Pompey's garden designer), and to Antipater, entirely independently of one another. Still, the idea that this poem might respond to a major site in contemporary Rome is undeniably tantalizing. Whether it does or not, Silanion's Sappho was clearly there, amid the gardens and colonnades of the *Urbs* through which Martial's books stalk so obsessively. *sic ueterem ingrati Pompei quaerimus umbram . . .*[30]

Sappho in Martial

We turn now to Martial, in whom Sappho's profile is dramatically lower than in the Greek tradition, both before and (as we have seen) for many centuries after him. Sappho is essentially absent both from Sullivan's seminal study and from the scholarship, which has followed on from it in recent years, including the stimulating recent monograph by Fitzgerald.[31] Perplexingly, there is conceivably more 'real' Sappho in Martial's contemporary Juvenal, of all places, than in his own twelve-and-then-some books.[32]

Martial name-drops Sappho in just two epigrams, 7.69 and 10.35. To put this in some kind of context, and leaning shamelessly on the excellent index to Shackleton Bailey's Loeb, we may generalize that Martial makes very little reference to the Greek literary classics *tout court*—he only mentions Homer a couple of times, Callimachus twice.[33]

[29] See Thorsen (2012: 5, 9). I am grateful to Thea for letting me see this very interesting article in proof.

[30] Silanion's Sappho, or at least a statue which Tatian would later take to be her, presumably on good advice. I quote Martial 5.10.5, one of three epigrams to advertise the charms of Pompey's portico (the others are 2.14 and 11.1); five poems celebrate his theatre.

[31] Fitzgerald (2007).

[32] See Edwards (1991), on how Juvenal *Satire* 6 invites us to read in Sappho on Helen.

[33] Thea S. Thorsen sees significance in Callimachus being cited by Martial exactly as many times as is Sappho—Callimachus and Sappho are, she suggests, very much a matched pair in Catullus and Ovid, see Thorsen, Chapter 4, pp. 91–3.

Roman authors get a better deal. Vergil leads by miles, with about thirty mentions in the twelve books, teasing us with the implicit promise (on which he never really comes good) that Martial is emulating the plan of the *Aeneid*. Even the pseudo-Vergilian *Culex* gets as many mentions as Sappho does. Ovid is name-dropped six or seven times, depending on which poems one chooses to count as referring to the 'right' Naso; Horace, three times. The love elegists do quite well, and Propertius' Cynthia and Tibullus' Nemesis both appear twice in their own right. Imaginary elegiac *puellae* thus get equal billing with Sappho—actually rather appropriately, given that by Martial's day she has long been relegated from working poet to cultural pin-up.

Even very obscure Latin authors get more coverage than Sappho and her fellow Greeks in Martial's poetic universe, particularly if he can claim them as congenial predecessors in a slanted version of the 'Latin epigram tradition', as explicitly in the preface to Book 1. It is worth revisiting that list: *sic scribit Catullus, sic* ***Marsus****, sic* ***Pedo****, sic* ***Gaetulicus****, sic quicumque perlegitur*. No fewer than ten epigrams praise Domitius Marsus, an Augustan epigrammatist. Martial sets up expectations for how his own *libelli* should be received—and rewarded—by constructing an elaborate and probably fictive *amicitia* between Marsus and Maecenas, the cynosure of literary sponsors, whose patronage of the 'right' Augustan poets brought him undying fame.[34] By way of contrast, Albinovanus Pedo is mentioned in just four poems, perhaps because he was known to have been a friend of Ovid (cf. *Pont.* 4.16.4; Sen. *Suas.* 1.15), whose involvement (such as it was) with the Augustan circle famously derailed his poetic career.

Perversely, although declared in the Preface to be one of the four predecessors who collectively justify Martial's poetic practice, Gaetulicus is never mentioned thereafter: the conclusion to this chapter will suggest why this might be the case. Meanwhile, three epigrams go to an otherwise unheard of 'Ligurinus', a rival whom Martial considers a nuisance; even the typically positivistic Shackleton Bailey concedes that he is probably an invented character. The 'Bruttianus' of 4.23 is surely

[34] 'In fact, no other evidence connects Domitius Marsus to Maecenas, though it comes as no surprise that Martial would fabricate a relationship between the most distinguished patron of Roman literary talent and an early pioneer of Latin epigram': Byrne (2004, p. 156). I thank Diana Spencer for drawing this article to my attention.

another, and there are probably others besides. Denunciation of dramatically unsatisfactory rivals who throw his own alleged best practice into sharp relief is a recurring trope in Martial, and it is surely suspicious that they are heard of only through him.

The poet with whom Martial affects to engage most closely is of course Catullus, who (as reported elsewhere in this volume) has his own complex business with Sappho. However, we shall reserve consideration of Martial's Catullus—and Martial's Catullus' Sappho—for this chapter's conclusion. For now, let us examine Martial's two Sappho poems in order of appearance.

Martial 7.69

Haec est illa promissa Theophila, Cani,
  cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent.
hanc sibi iure petat magni senis Atticus hortus,
  nec minus esse suam Stoica turba uelit.
uiuet opus quodcumque per has emiseris aures;
  tam non femineum nec populare sapit.
non tua Pantaenis nimium se praeferat illi,
  quamuis Pierio sit bene nota choro.
carmina fingentem **Sappho** laudarit amatrix:
  castior haec et non doctior illa fuit.

> This is the girl who was promised to you, Canius—Theophila, whose breast drips with a Cecropian dowry. The Attic garden of the marvellous old fellow [Epicurus] might lawfully claim her for its own, and the hubbub of the Stoics would want her for themselves every bit as much. Whatever [philosophical] work you broadcast through these ears of hers will endure: she's such a scholar, not like a woman or like the person in the street. Your own Pantaenis would not rank herself too far ahead of her, however well known she herself is to the Pierian chorus. Sappho the woman lover would praise her versification: *this* girl [Theophila] is the purer of the two, and *that* one [Sappho] was not the more learned.

This poem conjures up a bride who offers 'Cecropian' erudition as part of the Roman matrimonial package (*dos*). Theophila is a contradiction in terms. A speaking name in Greek ('Beloved of God') establishes her piety as a traditional Roman bride, but her gender-defying erudition descends from ancient Athens, giving her a direct line to Epicurus and the Stoics. Canius' much-hyped (*tua*) Pantaenis, implicitly perhaps another girl in

whom he has shown a romantic interest, cannot claim to outdo Theophila's *sapientia*. (We have no idea who Pantaenis is supposed to be; she is otherwise unattested, and again the cautious reader may reasonably suspect Martial of making her up.)

Even Sappho the 'loveress' would rate Theophila highly, if she caught her poetizing. *Amatrix* is a strikingly rare word, and Martial has already primed his reader to associate it with a Greek mythscape in which abnormal sexual identities run riot.[35] Theophila is free of Sappho's problematic appetites, but is at least as much of a *docta puella*—a real catch for the elegiac lover who is ready to do his duty and settle down as a prospective *paterfamilias*.

A strange poem already, perhaps, but odder effects emerge in a linear reading of the book. Defining end-points to Martial's sequences and cycles is always difficult, given the pervasiveness of his intratextuality, but we might commence with 7.62, where a Hamillus is excoriated for sodomizing big boys behind closed doors and hoping to get caught at it—so that the rumour-mill won't catch on to his real secret vice, which must be even worse, and at the nature of which we are (as so often) invited to guess.

At 7.63, the poet Silius Italicus—another Latin author frequently talked up by Martial—is extolled for prioritizing his traditional duties, as an advocate and patron, over verse composition. Readers who doubt Silius' Roman seriousness are given a stern talking-to: *Pierios tantum uati placuisse recessus | credis . . . ?* (Mart. 7.67.3–4, 'think you that only Pierian retreats . . . have pleased the bard?'). Pantaenis, the perhaps-spurious Sappho-clone of 7.69, will shortly be assigned to the suspiciously Greek-sounding 'Pierian choir', and here the mountain home of Orpheus and the Muses is already being downgraded and made morally suspect.

Epigram 7.64 delivers a roll-call of stereotypically Greek roles from Rome's imported intellectual service industry—rhetor, grammarian, schoolmaster, Cynic, hired applause. This resembles the catalogue

[35] Before Martial, *amatrix* is found only in Plautus (*Poen.* 5.5, *Asin.* 3.1), and its next appearances are much later (late fourth century BC), in Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid*. Martial has used *amatrix* as an adjective earlier in Book 7 and will use it once more later in the corpus, both times qualifying the fluid sexuality of 'amorous' waters (7.15, 10.4) in Greek mythological landscapes. These evoke transgression of gendered identity (*Hermaphroditus*, 10.4.6) and deviant sexuality—the gay pin-up Hylas appears in both.

of *Graeculi esurientes* from Umbricius' extended tirade in Juvenal's third Satire:

> Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
> Augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus: omnia nouit
> Graeculus esuriens . . .
>
> Juv. 3.76–8

> Grammarian, public speaker, land-surveyor, painter, personal trainer, augur, tightrope-dancer, sawbones, warlock: the lowly Greek with a belly to fill is a master of all trades . . .

And:

> non rhetor, non grammaticus ludiue magister,
> non Cynicus, non tu Stoicus esse potes . . .
>
> Martial 7.64.7–8

> You can't make it as a public speaker, a grammarian or schoolmaster, a Cynic or a Stoic . . .

Working the changes on Juvenal, Martial here sarcastically suggests these culturally Other roles as leisure options to a stereotypically Roman satirical type—the wealthy former freedman with pretensions of culture. We should note that Stoicism, shortly to be revisited in 'our' poem as an intellectual accomplishment of the prospective bride, is explicitly included in Martial's reworked list of 'Greekling' occupations.

Skipping a little ahead, at 7.67 (a famously obscene treat) we encounter the *tribas* Philaenis, a recurring stock character in Martial, named after the author of an imported sex manual. Just like Hamillus back in 7.62, Philaenis sodomizes boys—presumably with the monstrously enlarged clitoris which in Latin satire identifies the active female homosexual (as e.g. at 1.90.8). But this is not all: 'more brutal than a turned-on husband', she fucks eleven girls a day (2). Reading the poems sequentially on the page, and still more so on a papyrus book-roll in which the next column is forever emerging into view, it is hard not to read this motif of the cruelty of husbands' sexual demands forward into 7.69—or, not to read back from 7.69 when we get there, two poems from now. To cap it all, Philaenis enthusiastically performs cunnilingus on girls (15), mistakenly believing this behaviour to be as hyper-masculine as her weightlifting, wrestling, heavy drinking, and athlete's protein-intensive diet (4–12).

7.68 is a four-line disclaimer of a recurring type, advising a named friend that Martial's risqué poems might not be the safest of gifts to his father-in-law but also declaring the healthy Latinity of his Muses (*meas . . . Camenas*, 1). This rhetorically recalls a sentiment first deployed in the preface to Book 1, where Latin literary inspiration was invoked as excusing and even dignifying gritty linguistic *vérité* (*lasciuam uerborum ueritatem*). Then comes our Sappho poem; then 7.70—another Philaenis poem, loaded with deliberately harsh and coarse terms (*tribadum tribas . . . futuis . . .*).[36]

Martial, then, carefully frames Sappho in his seventh book. Her praiseworthiness as an exemplar of female literary virtuosity (7.69) is first tarnished by association with foreign servility (7.64), and then entrapped within a hardcore sexual freak show (7.67 and 7.70).

Martial 10.35

Omnes Sulpiciam legant puellae
uni quae cupiunt uiro placere;
omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti
uni cui cupiunt placere nuptae.
non haec Colchidos asserit furorem,
diri prandia nec refert Thyestae;
Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit:
sed castos docet et pios amores,
lusus, delicias facetiasque.
cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit,
nullam dixerit esse nequiorem,
nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem.
tales Egeriae iocos fuisse
udo crediderim Numae sub antro.
hac condiscipula uel hac magistra
esses doctior et pudica, **Sappho**:
sed tecum pariter simulque uisam
durus Sulpiciam Phaon amaret.
frustra: namque ea nec Tonantis uxor
nec Bacchi nec Apollinis puella
erepto sibi uiueret Caleno.

Mart. 10.35

[36] We might compare this to the effect created by the juxtaposition of Catullus 58 and 59, discussed by Gram elsewhere in this volume (see the index locorum).

> Let them all read Sulpicia, the girls who want to please a man and keep him; let them all read Sulpicia, the husbands who want to please a bride and keep her. *Her* trademark isn't the fury of Colchian Medea, *she* doesn't relate what horrid Thyestes had for supper. Scylla? Byblis? She doesn't believe they were real. Instead she teaches us monogamous and dutiful loving, fun turn-ons and clever moves. The reader who had the measure of her poems would say: never was a girl more naughty, but never was a girl more wholesome. I could imagine Egeria's frolics to have been like these, in the cover of Numa's dripping cave. If she had been your fellow-student or indeed your teacher, Sappho, you would have been more learned—and you would have been modest; but if he had seen the two of you together at once, unfeeling Phaon would have loved Sulpicia [instead of you]. In vain: for that girl would not go on living if her dear Calenus were taken from her, even as the wife of Jupiter, Bacchus, or Apollo.

In this strikingly repetitious poem, Sulpicia, Rome's famous female erotic elegist, is metamorphosed into the indispensible handbook for good Roman brides—and for husbands who want to hang onto them. Her refusal to pad her poems with hideous imported mythology closely aligns her with satire, the most outspokenly Roman of verse genres:

> Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
> uexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
> . . . inpune diem consumpserit ingens
> Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
> scriptus et in tergo necdum finita Orestes?
>
> Juv. 1.1–6, cf. 7–14

> Am I to be only a passive audience forever? Shall I never give fair return for being molested so many times by hoarse-throated Cordus' *Theseid*? . . . Shall a super-sized *Telephus* eat up my day, or an *Orestes* where the writing's filled up the endpapers, continued onto the back of the roll and still isn't done—and are they to get away with it?

Sulpicia embraces the didactic role of the elegiac *praeceptor amoris*. Unlike her fellow elegists, however, Sulpicia teaches *castos . . . et pios amores* (8)—a formulation so ideologically impeccable that it lays itself open to being read as a kind of parody. Line 9 immediately undercuts this overoptimistic definition of Sulpician sex-tutoring as a pious sacrament of marriage. Paradoxically, Sulpicia's *amores* are also ultra-Catullan, and thus implicitly non- or extramarital (*lusus, delicias facetiasque*). Again, the line is so packed with Neoteric buzzwords as to invite a parodic reading. Shortly thereafter (13–14) we are told that the

nymph Egeria in Numa's grotto must have been a kindred spirit—Juvenal has his own fun with this scene, when his third Satire has Romulus' successor sneaking out at night for a damp liaison with his mytho-elegiac *amica* outside the Capena Gate (3.12).

Just like 7.69, the poem ends with a comically over-wrought, counter-factual showdown between Sappho and this paragon of Roman wives—perhaps notionally a Catullan move[37] but taken much further. Sappho could have learned a thing or two from Sulpicia, we are told, if only the two had been contemporaries (compare the present participle *fingentem* in 7.69). Sulpicia would have made her over as a proper Roman bluestocking and society bride—*esses doctior et pudica, Sappho* (16). But of course, if they had really been contemporaries, Phaon (fresh from his starring role in Ovid) would have set his heart on Sulpicia, instead of pursuing his brief and disastrous affair with Sappho. It is a neat touch that Phaon is *durus*; there is perhaps an echo of Catullus 8's self-admonition (*obdura*, 8.11 and 19, cf. 20), but clearly also a gender inversion, which turns him into a *durus puer*, a fit love-object for female-authored elegy.

Even if Phaon had made a play for her, though, Sulpicia would have turned him down. She is already spoken for, by 'Calenus', a bombshell dropped in the very last word of 10.35. We hear more about him three poems later, in a gift-poem which evokes a present-day occasion:

> O molles tibi quindecim, Calene,
> quos cum Sulpicia tua iugales
> indulsit deus et peregit annos!
>
> Mart. 10.38.1–3

> How tender are those fifteen years, Calenus, which you have spent in marriage with your dear Sulpicia! Some god has granted them and seen them to completion!

So the 'Sulpicia' of these poems is not in fact the famous female elegiac poet, who, after all, lived long before Martial's time. This one is a living contemporary, and her object of affection is not the original Sulpicia's Cerinthus (who was clearly not husband material) but one 'Calenus'. Strangely, though, this second Sulpicia is alleged to be writing exactly the same kind of poetry as her famous namesake. Modern reference works

[37] See Gram, Chapter 5, *passim*.

list a 'Sulpicia 2',[38] but really primarily on the basis of these two poems, and of echoes of them in later authors who invoke her as an excuse for smut. Of these later poets, Ausonius and Sidonius surely get her name out of Martial (whom Sidonius is closely plagiarizing), and Fulgentius out of Ausonius. Of her alleged text a mere two lines are transmitted in a late antique scholiast on Juvenal known only at second hand.[39] That Sulpicia 2 is in love with a man called 'Hot Stuff' also flags up her artificiality, at least as a character and name with which to conjure within the poetic universe of Martial's dodecapartite *magnum opus*: Calenus evokes *calor* and elegiac passion.[40] Martial, always keen on local heroes, prefers even a displaced and ersatz Sulpicia over Sappho.

Once again, we may take this argument further by engaging with sequencing and cycles. A few poems earlier we have Epicurus invoked as *Cecropium . . . senem* (10.33.2). This terminology throws us backwards to the philosophical accomplishments of the Sappho-rivalling bride of 7.69, steeped in 'Cecropian' riches which included Epicurean philosophy. And immediately after the second Sulpicia-Calenus poem, we meet Lesbia, whose very name flags up the Mytilene connection:

> Consule te Bruto quod iuras, Lesbia, natam,
> mentiris. nata es, Lesbia, rege Numa?
> sic quoque mentiris. namque, ut tua saecula narrant,
> ficta Prometheo diceris esse luto.
>
> Mart. 10.39

> When you swear, Lesbia, that you were born when Brutus was consul, you are lying. Were you born, Lesbia, when Numa was king? You're lying again if you say you were. For when they tell the story of the ages you've lived through, you're said to have been shaped from Prometheus' clay.

[38] On whom see briefly Merriam (1991).

[39] On these sources see in passing, and *cum grano salis*, the 1992 article by Hallett. Blänsdorf's *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum* of 1995 notes that the two lines of text are discussed by Parker (1992a), who is cautiously persuaded that they are genuine.

[40] Martial's obvious model is the husband assigned to Sappho in the first entry on her name in *Suda*, 'Cercylas of Andros', whose speaking name was memorably unpacked by Holt Parker (1993, p. 309) as 'Dick Allcock from the Isle of MAN'. Regarding the possible connection between the speaking name of Sappho's husband and the genre of comedy, Campbell (1982, p. 5, n. 4) observes that 'Aly (*RE* s.v. "Sappho", col. 2361.40) believes that his name, elsewhere apparently unknown, was invented as indecent puns by the comic poets . . . '. However, there is little evidence in the extant comedy fragments relevant to Sappho that confirms this belief, see Thorsen and Berge, Chapter 15, pp. 302–6.

There are obvious Greek models for this poem in the *Anthology*, primarily Lucillius, but Martial's version punches more heavily than they do because of his pervasive intratextuality. 'Numa' kicks us back four poems to the Numa-and-Egeria of 10.35.14, with Juvenal 3 (see above) overlaid as intertext, which itself bounced off Juvenal (3.2, see above), and ties Lesbia to Sulpicia; but 10.39 retrospectively undercuts present-day claims about this Roman prehistory, including Martial's own.

Let us end, though, by considering what Lesbia is doing here. Just as the elegiac Sulpicia in 10.35 and 38 both was and was not herself, this is obviously not Catullus' Lesbia—or not exactly her. Catullus and his girl appear frequently in Martial, for notionally obvious reasons: Martial claims Catullus as his crucial predecessor in Roman epigram. As Fitzgerald engagingly shows, however, Martial repeatedly 'misreads' and 'rereads' Catullus 'in the light of his own situation as a client poet, urban rather than urbane'.[41]

Catullan Deformations

As part of this ongoing process of emulation through misreading and rereading, Martial repeatedly reframes and reshapes the identity of his model by mixing in different versions of 'Catullus' and indeed 'Lesbia'. Shackleton Bailey identifies around twenty poems with Catullus in, plus three separate references to his *passer* poem—but also two poems about another Catullus, and one with a sex-swapped 'Catulla'. But the text does not support such a neat division. It is not feasible to cordon off twenty poems (or a smaller number for that matter) as being about the 'real' Catullus, while writing off the rest as being about some made-up character who happens to share his name. Nor are the criteria for this proposed division ever properly clarified.

Epigram 12.73, for instance, is identified by Shackleton Bailey as being about a probably fictional Catullus who is Martial's contemporary—but the poem is about Martial's hope of becoming Catullus' heir, which immediately kicks us into figurative metapoetics. This is a Catullus who is-and-isn't, just like Sulpicia in 10.35 and 38. Across the corpus,

[41] Fitzgerald (2007, p. 167). 'Situation' needs to be understood here as the identity and life-story constructed in the poems, and not necessarily mapping onto a social reality outside them.

Martial repeatedly plays with variant Catullan (and indeed Lesbian) identities, making his avowed relationship of indebtedness more and more problematic as the twelve books go by.[42]

In doing so, Martial also primes his intended readership to pay especially close attention to whatever relationship he may establish with Sappho—his famous model's famous model. Every time he mentions (and mangles) Catullus and Lesbia, Sappho is there in the background for an intertextually aware reader; and the dramatic rarity of her own explicit appearances is an open invitation to linger and read between the lines. We have seen that the sequence of the text in Book 7 works to frame Sappho in the category of the obscene. In addition to this, there is at least one instance where Martial deforms her received image. This intervention closely mirrors his playful distortions of Catullus and Lesbia, as totemic figures in the author's make-believe version of literary tradition. Perhaps he is just toying with a pop-cultural sound-bite, but the door is held open for us to read for something more edgy:

> Quid narrat tua moecha? non puellam
> dixi, Gongylion. quid ergo? linguam.
>
> Mart. 3.84

> What's that slut of yours saying? I don't mean your girlfriend, Gongylion. What do I mean, then? Your tongue.

A two-line epigram that alludes to an obscene act, but also generates humour through ambiguity and misdirection, will always be hard to pin down to one clear meaning. Shackleton Bailey gets us some of the way. *Lingua* is feminine, and the final twist is that Gongylion's own tongue is the *moecha*. However Gongylion is surely meant to be recognized as a female character, and specifically as a Sapphic echo. In Eden's reading Gongylion is a prostitute, and *tua moecha*, 'that slut of yours', invites an initial naive reading as 'a competing *paelex*, her own rival'.[43] My own view is that this stretches *tua* too far. The reader is initially misled into assuming that Gongylion is in a sexual relationship with another woman—a misapprehension her name would immediately suggest. *Moecha* implies either that this unnamed girlfriend is promiscuous or,

[42] The closing chapter of Fitzgerald (2007) is enlightening on Martial's Catullus; on his Lesbia see briefly Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, p. 115).

[43] Eden (1999, p. 579).

more straightforwardly within Martial's moral universe, that any relationship between two women is *déclassé* by virtue of its obscenity.

The punchline is that Gongylion does not actually have a slutty girlfriend, because she does not need one—she is in a relationship with a *moecha* already, in the form of her own tongue. Gongylion is sufficiently flexible to serve as her own lesbian lover.

Whatever reading we prefer, the diminutive of a pupil of Sappho who is a fixture of her biographical tradition—one of Sappho's 'Lesbias', as it were—must be worth noting. Gongula has now come back from the dead, of course, in the small fragment (fr. 217 LP) which inspired Ezra Pound's poem, 'Papyrus'. Here, though, in Martial's third book in shrunken form, she's part of a sequence (roughly speaking, perhaps 3.80–8?) which repeatedly hints at *os impurum*, the mouth contaminated by sexual service.[44]

Gongylion is framed between two poems (3.83 and 87) about Chione, a recurring character. She will re-appear ten poems later as well, with a hint that she might be real; but Chione ('Snow White') is such an obvious speaking name, and it ties her closely to her consistently defining trait in Martial. Perhaps in parodic negation of the virtuous heroine of the eponymous Greek romance, the Chione of Martial's *libelli* is 'Snow White' because she specializes in performing fellatio, like the rejected Lesbia of Catullus 58's back-alley junctions.[45] So an important Sappho character is invoked, but immediately brought down to size, and bracketed between female oral sex acts which control what she can now mean.

We might revisit here Martial's relationship with real Latin epigrammatists, as opposed to imaginary ones such as 'Ligurinus'. We have seen that, in addition to Catullus, he aggressively publicizes foundational models—notably Marsus and Pedo—who in reality may not have been especially important to the development of Latin epigram. Contrastingly, other poets fall victim to selective literary amnesia.

We may recall here Gaetulicus, praised in the preface of Martial's first book but never revisited thereafter. He was tolerably well known as an

[44] Sapsford (2009, p. 56) suggests the cycle starts earlier, at 3.77.

[45] For the fragments associated with the Greek *Chione* see Stephens and Winkler (1995, pp. 289–313). Anderson (2000, pp. 43–60) concedes that the evidence is necessarily very thin, but still argues that *Chione* should be read as a literary re-telling of a pre-existing 'Snow White' folktale tradition.

epigrammatist (favourably reviewed in Pliny) and an upstanding Roman (executed by Caligula), making him potentially very useful to Martial as a distinguished fellow-traveller in genre; but the reader keen to explore his epigrams must turn to the *Greek Anthology*, so Martial assiduously avoids revisiting him.

Let us turn to the three early Latin love-epigrammatists, Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Lutatius Catulus. These poets of the early first century BC all knew each other, and were important predecessors to Catullus, both in the loose sense of staking out a local tradition of light occasional verse, and in their fondness for adapting archaic lyric. Aedituus and Catulus in particular can be counted among the founders of Latin epigram. But they blot their copy-book by making the Latin genre dependent on the Hellenistic cultural package.

Catulus patronized contemporary Greek epigrammatists, and his epigram in Gellius reworks a Callimachean original.[46] Licinus pursues bucolic topics, vaguely after the manner of Theocritus. As Hellenistic revivalists, these poets inherit the early Hellenistic poets' antiquarian enthusiasm for archaic lyric, especially Sappho.[47] Sappho will also have been an important model for the unnamed love elegists attested in Apuleius' anecdote, among them perhaps Hermesianax, who includes Sappho as the object of Alcaeus' desperate love in a priamel preserved in Athenaeus (fr. 3 in Jane Lightfoot's *Hellenistic Collection* for Loeb). Like Aedituus, Catulus enjoys Sapphic allusion.[48] The Hellenistic and perhaps especially the Sappho connection must explain why Martial excludes their work from his poetic genealogy.

Instead he gives us distorted echoes. Lutatius Catulus does not appear, but his identically named son does (5.10)—not in any literary capacity, but as the restorer of a temple back in the good old days, squarely in line with *mos maiorum* (*sic laudant Catuli uilia templa senes*, 5.10.6, 'just so old men praise Catulus' humble temple'). We find a 'Licinus' (8.3), but not Porcius Licinus: this one is a freedman of Augustus, familiar as a stereotype of fabulous wealth from Juvenal (1.109). Martial asserts in pointedly Horatian style that his own poems will still be read when Licinus' lofty marble monument is dust: *altaque cum Licini marmora puluis erunt* (Mart. 8.3.6, 'the tall marbles of Licinus are dust')—exactly

[46] Morelli (2007, p. 532), a very useful discussion.
[47] Morelli (2007, pp. 533–4).
[48] Morelli (2000, pp. 175–7).

the cliché Tullius Laureas applied to Sappho's immortal lyric, but here used to erase from memory a Hellenizing Roman predecessor.

Again, the identities of the 'wrong' kind of epigrammatic ancestor are being deformed. That Martial boxes Sappho in with dirty-mouthed perverts, shrinks her famous girlfriend, and sends her down on herself suggests that Martial has business of his own with his famous model's famous model. So, too, does the way he writes off perfectly good Latin epigrammatists as unusable, because (like Catullus) they inherit the Hellenistic poets' fondness for Sappho. For these poets, as for Greek epigram long after Martial's time, the Muse of Lesbos personifies 'lyric'. Martial marginalizes and travesties Sappho in his *oeuvre* in order to strip Catullus of his lyrical associations, representing him instead (through the endlessly reworked Catullus/Lesbia pairing) as the harbinger of a more squarely Roman genre, erotic elegy, with which the majority of his epigrams share a characteristic metre.

That Martial responds exclusively to Sappho's reputation and image, rather than (as Catullus did) to her text, is par for the course in Sappho's reception in ancient epigram. Martial's response to Catullus, however, is itself of fundamentally the same kind, for all his rhetorical insistence that the earlier Latin poet's text somehow informs his own practice. Catullus' literary persona as a leading light of the Neoterics is grounded by the good faith he displays in responding to 'his' Sappho. In pointed contrast, Martial marks out his own uniqueness by broadcasting his infidelity to 'his' Catullus—and thus, if only in passing, to his Catullus' Sappho.

15

Receiving Receptions Received

A New Collection of *testimonia Sapphica c.*600 BC–AD 1000

Thea S. Thorsen and Robert Emil Berge

This chapter includes a new collection of Sappho *testimonia*, preceded by a brief introduction. The introduction reflects on the nature of *testimonia* more generally, surveys some important, existing collections of Sappho *testimonia*, and presents ways in which the present collection builds on and differs from these. This chapter thus represents a case of classical reception to the third degree, namely the present volume's contemporary reception of twentieth-century scholarly receptions of pre-medieval receptions of the poetry and poet-figure of Sappho.

What are *testimonia*?

Anyone who turns to a critical edition of a classical text which is fragmentarily preserved is likely to leaf through the pages of a collection of *testimonia* before arriving at the text proper. And yet, there is no clear-cut definition of what a *testimonium* is.[1] Often *testimonia* represent the

[1] The Latin can mean 'testimony', 'evidence', and 'attestation', often in connection with law-cases, cf. *OLD*, s.v. *testimonium*. In the genre of critical editions *testimonium* is not to be confused with 'witness', which in the business of critical editions means 'manuscript' (Germ. *Zeuge*); see Maas (1958, p. 2). And yet, as Willis points out, '. . . a narrower theoretical definition [of the purposes served by *testimonia*] would clearly be desirable'; Willis (1972, p. 46), see also Willis (1972, pp. 44–6) and Hall (1913, pp. 141–4).

so-called 'indirect tradition' of a text, the 'direct tradition' of which will normally be represented by copies of the text itself, whether in the form of papyrus, codex, or any other type of book-production.[2] This definition would imply that a *testimonium* should be clearly distinguishable from (for example) a fragment. However, that is not always the case, as the various editions of Sappho that include collections of *testimonia* demonstrate.[3] Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that, in order for a text to qualify as a *testimonium* of a specific work or author, it ought to include some sort of reference to this work or author. This is a criterion applied to all the *testimonia* included in the present collection. And yet, as shown below, at least one of the existing compilations of *testimonia Sapphica* includes a number of items in which there is no reference to Sappho's poetry or person, but only to themes related to her reception history.

Previous Collections of Sappho *testimonia*: A Brief Survey

In line with the lack of a clear-cut theoretical definition of the widespread phenomenon of *testimonia* in classical scholarship, existing collections of Sappho *testimonia* provide different answers to the question 'what are *testimonia*?' In fact, these collections display a considerable diversity in scope, organization, and content, as seen in the case of some of the most recent relevant publications: Edgar Lobel (1925), Carlo Gallavotti (1947), Edgar Lobel and Denys Page (1955), Eva-Maria Voigt (1971), Heinrich Dörrie (1975), and David Campbell (1982).

In Lobel's important (1925) edition of Sappho's fragments, which on its title page includes two *testimonia*, one of highest praise of Sappho[4] and one expressing the lowest contempt,[5] some further *testimonia* are found under the heading *Incerti Libri* ('From an unidentified book') as items 77–96.[6] These include one item under the heading '*Σκυθικὸν ξύλον*'

[2] West (1973, p. 87).

[3] See Nicosia (1977), for a study of the relationship between the indirect tradition, as represented by *testimonia*, and the direct tradition, as represented by fragments of Sappho's (and Alcaeus') poetry preserved in papyri.

[4] See Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.2.3 in *testimonia* below.

[5] Tatian, *Ad. Gr.* 33.1–2, see *testimonia*, below.

[6] Lobel (1925, pp. 64–70).

('Scythian wood'),[7] which collects various sources, followed by one item that contains a number of *testimonia* under the heading of 'Phaon',[8] including a reference as late as Comes Natalis (1520–82).[9] This organization is largely reproduced in Lobel and Page (1955),[10] a volume which is considered one of the standard editions of Sappho today, and which includes twenty *testimonia*[11] that follow on from the fragments almost seamlessly, and that can thus be difficult to distinguish from them; this is also the case in Lobel (1925).

Gallavotti (1947) is one of the richest collections of *testimonia*. It includes one hundred and forty-eight items,[12] of which ninety-two are organized under the heading 'On the life and legend of Sappho',[13] and fifty-five[14] under the heading 'On the poetry of Sappho'.[15] Notably, in his introduction, Gallavotti shares his reflections on the way in which his *testimonia* are organized—a rare feature in such collections.[16]

Voigt (1971), considered the standard critical edition today, and used throughout this volume, presents a stricter organization of the *testimonia*, dividing them into those that are relevant to (1) the poet's poems,[17] (2) ancient editions,[18] (3) ancient commentaries,[19] and (4) the poet's life.[20]

Collected under these subheadings, the Sappho *testimonia* in Voigt's edition constitute a total of seventy items, some of which are of a late date, such as the Byzantine scholar Michael Italicus (1136–66), as well as

[7] Lobel, item 94 (1925, p. 69).
[8] Lobel, item 95 (1925, p. 69).
[9] Item numbered 95.iii.
[10] Lobel and Page (1955, pp. 103–10).
[11] Items numbered 193–213.
[12] Gallavotti (1947, pp. 27–65).
[13] Cf. *Sulla vita e la leggenda di Saffo.*
[14] Items numbered 93–148.
[15] Cf. *Sulla poesia di Saffo.*
[16] . . . non è ordinata secondo un rigido criterio, che sarebbe scomodo e forse impossibile, ma secondo opportunità e convenienza; in essa ho pure tenuto aggruppate le notizie che riguardano specialmente la vita e la fortuna del poeta distinguendole da quelle che riguardano la poesia in sé stessa e che sono particolarmente importanti per la citazioni delle poesie e per le illustrazioni che accompagnano le citazioni (Gallavotti 1947, p. 21: '. . . it [the collection] is not organized according to rigid criteria, which would have been difficult and perhaps impossible, but according to opportunity and convenience; for this I have even kept information grouped together that is of particular relevance to the life and the *Nachleben* of the poet, distinguishing these from those that relate to the poetry in itself and which are particularly important for their quotations of the poetry and for the illustrations that accompany the quotations'), Thorsen's translation.
[17] *Ad poetriae carmina pertinentia*, Voigt, items 194–225 (1971, pp. 155–68).
[18] *Ad editiones antiquorum pertinentia,* Voigt, items 226–36 (1971, pp. 168–70).
[19] *Ad commentationes antiquorum pertinentia* Voigt, items 244–8 (1971, p. 171).
[20] *Ad poetriae vitam pertinentia*, Voigt, items 249–64 (1971, pp. 171–4).

the sixteenth-century Comes Natalis, also referred to in Lobel (1925) and Lobel and Page (1955).[21]

Dörrie (1975) is the only study treated in this chapter that includes *testimonia Sapphica* without being an edition of Sappho; it is instead an edition of and a literary and critical commentary on Ovid's *Heroides* 15. In this study, Dörrie's ambition is to 'compare the *Epistula Sapphus* . . . with all ancient material that serves to illuminate it'.[22] Nonetheless, Dörrie's collection is not exhaustive where the most important figure in *Heroides* 15 is concerned, namely Sappho, although it includes a full seventy-five *testimonia*, divided into thematic sections as follows: (1) the *Marmor Parium* and Plato,[23] (2) *The Greek Anthology*,[24] (3) Sappho before the Hellenistic era,[25] (4) Rhodopis and Doricha,[26] (5) Silanion's statue of Sappho,[27] (6) Sappho in ancient comedy,[28] (7) Chamaeleon *On Sappho*,[29] (8) whether there were two women with the name of Sappho,[30] (9) the imperial age on Sappho,[31] (10) Latin poets on Sappho,[32] (11) Sapphic imitations,[33] (12) the cliffs of Leucas,[34] and (13) Phaon.[35]

Several of the *testimonia* listed under these subheadings, especially those concerning the cliffs of Leucas and Phaon, do not mention Sappho. Although Dörrie makes no explicit mention of this, these *testimonia* thus suggest that the associations related to Leucas and Phaon are relevant to, but also reach beyond, the figure of Sappho.

Campbell's (1982) edition of Sappho is probably the most widely used today, especially by non-specialists, because, unlike other editions of Sappho, it includes translations into English both of the *testimonia* and of her fragments. Campbell's collection of '*testimonia* of life and art',[36] as he titles it, is divided into the following sections: (1) biographies,[37] (2) the

[21] Also included in Lobel (1925) and Lobel and Page (1955), see above p. 291.

[22] '. . . die *Epistula Sapphus* . . . mit allem antiken Material, das ihrer Erklärung dient, vorzulegen', Dörrie (1975, p. 1).

[23] Dörrie, items 1–2 (1975, p. 231).

[24] Dörrie, items 3–14 (1975, pp. 231–2).

[25] Dörrie, items 15–17 (1975, pp. 235–6).

[26] Dörrie, items 18–19 (1975, pp. 236–7).

[27] Dörrie, item 20 (1975, p. 237).

[28] Dörrie, items 21–8 (1975, pp. 238–9).

[29] Dörrie, item 29 (1975, p. 239).

[30] Dörrie, items 30–1 (1975, pp. 240–1).

[31] Dörrie, items 32–40 (1975, pp. 241–4).

[32] Dörrie, items 41–9 (1975, pp. 245–6).

[33] Dörrie, items 50a–d (1975, pp. 246–7).

[34] Dörrie, items 51–63 (1975, pp. 247–53).

[35] Dörrie, items 64–75 (1975, pp. 253–6).

[36] *Testimonia vitae atque artis.*

[37] Campbell, items 1–2 (1982, pp. 2–7).

other Sappho,[38] (3) chronology,[39] (4) birthplace,[40] (5) family,[41] (6) life,[42] (7) portraits,[43] (8) comedies,[44] (9) epitaphs,[45] (10) ancient editions,[46] (11) metres,[47] (12) ancient commentators,[48] and (13) the verdict of antiquity.[49]

Furthermore, several items listed as fragments in Campbell (1982) might just as easily be regarded as *testimonia*, especially those numbered 202–213B.[50] Some of the items in Campbell's section on Sappho *testimonia* are of a late date, such as the Byzantine poet and grammarian Johannes Tzetzes (1110–80), who claims that he will resort to the poetry of Pindar since that of Sappho is unavailable to him, despite the fact that we know of several references to her elsewhere in Byzantine literature.[51]

A Brief Guide to a New Collection of Sappho *testimonia*

An advantage of the reception studies approach is that it helps us to appreciate works that are usually considered to be of secondary importance as texts in their own right.[52] Any collection of *testimonia* consists to a great degree of precisely such 'secondary' texts. Various strategies have been employed in this collection to allow the reader to appreciate the *testimonia* not only as they relate to Sappho and Sappho studies, but in themselves too.

One of the most important features of the collection, reflecting this ambition, is that it is organized not by theme, but in approximately chronological order. In this respect, the present collection differs from all others currently in existence, though it covers roughly the same

[38] Campbell, items 3–4 (1982, pp. 6–7).
[39] Campbell, items 5–10 (1982, pp. 7–13).
[40] Campbell, items 11–12 (1982, pp. 12–13).
[41] Campbell, items 13–16 (1982, pp. 14–17).
[42] Campbell, items 17–23 (1982, pp. 18–25).
[43] Campbell, items 24 (1982, pp. 24–5).
[44] Campbell, items 25–6 (1982, pp. 24–7).
[45] Campbell, items 27–8 (1982, pp. 24–9).
[46] Campbell, items 29–32 (1982, pp. 28–33).
[47] Campbell, items 33–6 (1982, pp. 32–5).
[48] Campbell, items 37–41 (1982, pp. 34–7).
[49] Campbell, items 42–61 (1982, pp. 50–1).
[50] Campbell (1982, pp. 186–99).
[51] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 2, n. 3.
[52] Porter (2008, p. 473).

time-span as the collections described above. The earliest *testimonium* included in this collection is a fragment ascribed to Alcaeus, in which he addresses 'holy Sappho' (Alcaeus fr. 384 LP). However, the reference to Sappho, like the attribution to Alcaeus, is not certain. Firstly, the *testimonium* has come to us in a quotation made more than seven hundred years after Alcaeus lived, in Hephaestion's *Handbook*, an abridged version of his *On Metres* (second century AD);[53] secondly, the spelling of Sappho's name is irregular[54] and Hephaestion names Alcaeus only indirectly, in a reference to 'the Alcaic 12-syllable' metre.[55] This *testimonium* is widely referred to in scholarship, which is the main reason why it has been included in the present collection, despite the various difficulties just described. The earliest *testimonium* to Sappho that can be established with certainty is consequently that in Herodotus. The most recent *testimonia* included are dated to *c.*1000 AD and in this regard the present collection differs somewhat from its predecessors, which all include *testimonia* that can be dated later than that. There is such a great number of such *testimonia* (or receptions) of Sappho's poet-figure and poetry in both the Eastern and the Western Middle Ages—many more than are included in the editions mentioned above—that they merit a more extensive exposition than can be offered within the scope of a collection such as this.[56] Consequently, the *terminus ante quem* for the inclusion of a *testimonium* in the present collection has been set at around 1000 AD.

The key organizing piece of information given for each *testimonium* in the present collection, then, is its date, found in the left-hand column. There is not necessarily agreement in the scholarship on the dates of all authors and texts included in the collection. Where the date is uncertain, we have followed *OCD* as far as possible, which *inter alia* means that we have not taken the Attic calendar, which begun 'with the appearance of the first new moon after the summer solstice'[57] into consideration. When

[53] Cf. *OCD* (2012, s.v. Hephaestion[2]).

[54] The first letter in the preserved passage is a sigma, whereas Sappho's name is normally spelled with an initial psi (cf. *sed alias semper* Ψαπφ-, Voigt 1971, p. 332 'but elsewhere always Ψαπφ-'). See however *P.Oxy.* 2506, dated to the first or second century AD, where Sappho's name appears to be written with an initial sigma several times; cf. Voigt (1971, pp. 162–5).

[55] Cf. Ophuijsen (1987, p. 134).

[56] See Thorsen, Introduction, p. 2, n. 3.

[57] John Dillon, *OCD* (2012, s.v. Calendar, Greek).

the dates are virtually unknown, as is the case for the anonymous poems of *The Greek Anthology*, we have placed them as close as possible to the most recently suggested probable date, although the *testimonia* may in many cases be much older. When the same date is given for different authors or items, these are organized alphabetically. *Scholia* ('interpretations, comments')[58] are grouped together with the texts they comment on, although they may be of a much later date.

Information about dating is followed by the name of the author (where known), the title of the text in which the *testimonium* occurs, and/or the source from which this text is quoted. In the case of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (*P.Oxy.*) 1800 fr. 1, the *Marmor Parium*, and the Byzantine lexicon *Suda*, the reference to the work is given in the place of the name of an author. One special case that does not fit perfectly within this organizational scheme is Athenaeus, who in his vast work *The Learned Banqueters* quotes a great number of other texts, and even texts within texts, e.g. Anacreon as quoted in Chamaeleon's treatise *On Sappho*. In this collection, that *testimonium* is listed not under the date of Athenaeus, who flourished around AD 200 (nor under that of Anacreon, who flourished 536/5 BC, and who does not get a separate entry in the present collection because the poem that is ascribed to him does not explicitly or unequivocally refer to Sappho),[59] but under the time of Chamaeleon, whose approximate dates are 350–after 281 BC. The reasoning behind this is that it shows that a treatise on Sappho may have been composed as early as the turn of the fourth or the third centuries BC.[60] For the same reason, there are separate entries for Nymphodorus of Syracuse, Hermesianax, and Posidippus, who all flourished during the Hellenistic age, but whose *testimonia* survive in quotations by Athenaeus some five centuries later.[61]

The present collection relies on standard critical editions, as collections of *testimonia* generally do, but unlike in most earlier collections,

[58] '. . . from the Greek σχόλιον, first attested when Cicero quotes it back at T. Pomponius Atticus (*Att.* 16. 7. 3)—are notes on a text, anything from a continuous commentary to one-word jottings; but normally the term refers to substantial sets of exegetical and critical notes written in the margin or between the lines of manuscripts. As many of these go back to ancient commentaries, it carries historical implications absent from "gloss", which suggests paraphrase or humdrum explanation', Michael Reeve, *OCD* (2012, s.v. Scholia).

[59] For the poem and its relevance to Sappho, see Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 31.

[60] *OCD* (2012, s.v. Chamaeleon).

[61] *OCD* (2012, s.v. Nymphodorus, Hermesianax, and Posidippus).

references to the critical editions are given either *ad locum* or in the same format as other references in the volume—that is, author, date of publication, page number—in order to reduce the occurrence of obscure abbreviations, which are pandemic in the genre of *testimonia*. In this, too, Athenaeus represents a special case, as his text is referred to according to the system of both Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), reproduced in Douglas Olson (2006–12)[62] (= Casaubon/Olson), and Georg Kaibel (1887–90), since both Casaubon and Kaibel are standard references for Athenaeus.[63] In the case of Posidippus, the text of Colin Austin and Guido Bastianini (2002), together with Athenaeus' commentary is as in Kaibel. In the case of Hermesianax, the edition of Jane Lightfoot (2009) has been used. Furthermore, for the sake of clarity, each individual work is regularly referred to by its standard Latin title, plus the translated title of an existing English edition. There are some exceptions, such as Ovid's *Tristia* ('sad songs') and Statius' *Silvae* ('raw materials', 'occasional poetry'), the titles of which are regularly given only in Latin, and Lucius Ampelius' work *Liber memorialis*, which is often described as the 'Book of Memorable Facts' though it has yet to be published under this or any other English title.[64]

In the attempt to appreciate these texts in their own right, some *testimonia* have been presented as transmitted in at least one manuscript or the equivalent. Thus, the reference to Nymphodorus in Athenaeus is reproduced as it is in Kaibel's edition of his *Learned Banqueters*, that is, with the name Nympis,[65] a lacuna and without the conjectural supplement <ποητρίας ὁμώνυμος> ('namesake of the poetess'), which is designed to unequivocally distinguish 'Sappho the *hetaera*' from 'Sappho the poet'.[66] While Kaibel leaves the text with a lacuna, he also includes the following conjectural supplement in a note: fort. καὶ ἡ ἐξ Ἐρέσου δὲ τῆς <ποητρίας ὁμώνυμος> ἑταίρα Σαπφώ, non recte τῆς ἑτέρας (sic Mus) <ὁμώνυμος> Cas, (Kaibel 1890, vol. 3, p. 315, critical apparatus, 'maybe:

[62] And in Gulick (1937).

[63] See Berti and Cumani, especially the Casaubon/Kaibel converter at <http://digitalathenaeus.org/>.

[64] For an English translation of the work, which keeps the Latin title, see <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Liber_Memorialis>.

[65] Kaibel prints the transmitted Nymphis, yet identifies him with Nymphodorus in the index of his edition, and this identification has been universally accepted.

[66] See Thorsen, Chapter 1, pp. 34–8.

"And she, the *hetaera* Sappho, namesake of the poetess, was from Eresos", "of the other" is not correct, thus [Marcus] Mus[urus]) <ὁμώννμος> [Isaac] Cas[aubon]').[67] In his edition of Athenaeus' *Learned Banqueters* for the Loeb Classical Library series, Olson (2006–12) prints Casaubon's supplement in the text proper, referring in the critical apparatus somewhat misleadingly to 'Kaibel', yet with no marking of this in the translation, which thus for a reader of the English might readily appear to be a part of the transmitted Greek text, which it is not.[68] In appreciation of the pre-modern reception of Sappho in this context, Casaubon's supplement has been excluded in the present collection.

Porphyrio's commentary on Horace provides an example of a passage in which the transmitted text has been kept—against the standard edition—in the present collection of *testimonia*. In his publication of Porphyrio's commentary on Horace's *Odes* 2.13, Alfred Holder (1894) prints a conjecture by his contemporary colleague Meyer, thus: *Queritur autem Sappho a puellis ciuibus suis*, *quod* ***Φάων<α>*** *ament*, *ipsa diligebat amens* (Holder 1894, p. 72, 'But Sappho complains about the girls of her city, because they love **the Phaon** she herself cherished so madly'). This conjecture, which could be regarded as an instance of reception, implies that Sappho is jealous of the girls of her city, because they love Phaon, a man she is in love with herself. This conjecture is clearly inspired by other *testimonia* to Sappho and Phaon, as well as to his seductive powers—supposedly exercized also in the case of other women from Lesbos.[69]

However, the transmitted text of Porphyrio's Horace commentary is ***oden non*** (where Meyer conjectures *Φάων<α>*),[70] which would give the translation: 'But Sappho complains about the girls of her city, because they do **not** love **the song** she herself cherished so madly.' This reading may seem puzzling, yet it appears significantly related—especially lexically—to several other *scholia* to Horace's *Odes* 2.13 published by H. J. Botshuyver (1935, 1942), which suggest a different kind of reception from the one implied by Meyer's conjecture. In the first publication of these *scholia*, the scholiast claims that Horace says that Sappho *querellari*

[67] See Schweighaeuser (1805, pp. 595–6), and Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 36.

[68] Olson (2006–12, vol. 7, *ad loc.*).

[69] See e.g. Aelian and Suda *Φ* 89 in the *testimonia*, below.

[70] Holder does not give information about which MS this reading belongs to, but all the other variants recorded in the apparatus on this page are to *P* (= Parisinus 7988), which Holder dates to the fifteenth century; see Holder (1894, p. VIIII).

apud Inferos de puellis ciuibus suis, *cur* **Oden puerum** *non amassent*, *quem ipsa diligebat* ('complains in the Underworld about the girls of her city, because they had not loved the **boy Ode**, whom she herself cherished'). This reading occurs in one manuscript, whereas two others concur in displaying the slightly different reading *eundum puerum* 'the same boy' (with misspelling of *eund**em*** as *eund**um***).[71] However, this variation does not alter the significance much, as it still conveys disappointment in the girls, rather than jealousy, on the part of Sappho. Finally, yet another *scholion* to Horace *Odes* 2.13, published some years later by Botschuyver (1942),[72] supports the interpretation of Sappho as disappointed, with the following explanation:

> Sappho ista mulier postquam amicum suum perdidit, conquerebatur cum lyricis de morte illius; praeterea et dolebat de aliis puellis quae nolebant cum illa dolere nec conqueri de morte amici sui.[73]
>
> This woman Sappho, after she lost her friend, lamented his death with lyrical songs; furthermore, she was in pain over the other girls, who did not want to grieve with her or join her in her lament over her friend's death.

Thus, none of the transmitted *scholia* to Horace *Odes* 2.13, one of the most famous appearances of Sappho in Latin poetry, imply that the complaint of Sappho about her compatriot girls was due to jealousy over Phaon, as is implied by Meyer's modern reception in the form of his conjectural emendation. Instead, the transmitted texts of the premodern *scholia* all suggest—with their ***non***—that Sappho's complaint was received as some sort of disappointment in the girls of Lesbos on her part.[74] These *scholia*, especially those published by Botschuyver, which

[71] The manuscripts used by Botschuyver in his 1935 edition of *scholia* on Horace appears to be of the sixth century: *Haec recensio scholiorum F λ′ saeculi VI. uidetur, nam terminum post quem praebent loci ex Isidoro laudati; quae res bene congruit cum sententia Kelleri librum originalem F λ′ saeculi VI. fuisse disputantis.* (Botschuyver 1935, p. ix, 'this *recensio* of the scholia F λ′ seems to be of the sixth century, for passages mentioned by Isidore provide the *terminus post quem*; this matches well Keller when he argues that the original book F λ′ belongs to the sixth century). Cf. Botschuyver (1942, pp. vii–viii), where he refutes, with Klingner, P. Wessner's suggestion that the scholia stem from Heiricus Autissiodorensis of the ninth century.

[72] Botschuyver dates the manuscripts of this *scholion* to the eleventh century (Parisinus latinus 17.897) and the fifteenth century (Parisinus latinus 8223, a later copy of Parisinus latinus 17.897, see Botschuyver (1942, pp. viiii–ix).

[73] Botschuyver (1942, p. 77).

[74] Perhaps related to the *Adonia* and Aphrodite's lament for the loss of Adonis? Cf. Sappho fr. 140 Voigt.

have not previously been included in a collection of Sappho *testimonia*, thus appear as a reminder of how critically edited texts may be regarded as reception palimpsests, in which one instance of reception, most often in the form of a transmitted text, is overwritten by that of another, represented by a supplement, conjecture, or emendation.

A final example, in which the transmitted text has been kept in the present collection of Sappho *testimonia*, is Tatian's *Address to the Greeks*. Here, the transmitted name of Mystis, whose identity is unknown, is printed instead of the conjectural name of Nossis, who is a famous poet. The emendation 'Nossis' for 'Mystis' was first suggested by Heinrich Brunn,[75] subsequently defended at length by August Kalkmann,[76] and finally printed in virtually all critical editions of Tatian's work.[77] However, in the 1960s, Tatian's unique association of the name of the sculptor Cephistodorus with the name of his model Mystis was attested in an inscription on what appears to be a statue-base, found in Rome, more precisely in the vicinity of the Pompeian theatre-complex, where Tatian claims to have seen it, strongly suggesting that Tatian's transmitted text is correct.[78]

Furthermore, the present collection, like that of Campbell (1982), includes translations. The majority of these translations are either modified versions of those provided by the Loeb Classical Library series or have been freshly produced by Thea S. Thorsen and Robert Emil Berge, with the kind help of Stephen Harrison. We use the following further translations: Gillian Newing's translation of the *Marmor Parium*,[79] Charles Allison Behr's of Aelius Aristides (1981–6), Michael Trapp's of Maximus of Tyre (1997), Barney (2006) of Isidore, and Peter Bing and Regina Höschele's of Aristaenetus (2014).

Throughout, the *testimonia* contain quotations, paraphrases, and allusions to other works not only by Sappho, but also by many other authors. Many collections of *testimonia* include references to these other texts within the passages quoted. However, there are no references to other texts inserted into the *testimonia* themselves in the present collection, since in a number of cases these are hard to distinguish, and many do not

[75] Brunn (1857, p. 272). [76] Kalkmann (1887).
[77] e.g. Whittaker (1982), Marcovich (1995), and Trelenberg (2012).
[78] Cf. Coarelli (1996), Thorsen (2012). See also Thorsen, Chapter 1, p. 18, n. 77.
[79] <www.ashmolean.org/ash/faqs/q004/q004011.html>.

exactly correspond to texts of the quoted passages as they have been critically established in the standard editions of today[80].

We have however, on the far right-hand side of the presentation of the *testimonia*, included keywords, which are intended to highlight different aspects of the various *testimonia*, as well as indicating quotations from, allusions to, or paraphrases of Sappho's poetry. Furthermore, specific features, such as the correspondence between Ausonius' selection of suicidal heroines and a number of Ovid's *Heroides*, are noted. Finally, no keywords are included with the aim of correcting information in the *testimonia* that is not in agreement with facts established in current scholarship, such as the Suda's dating of Erinna (who, according to *OCD*, lived in the fourth century BC)[81] to the time of Sappho.

[80] For practical reasons we have frequently used editions that are also found in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), such as e.g. Kock (1880–8) for fragments of Greek comedy.
[81] *OCD* (2012, s.v. Erinna).

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
BC 625/20–?580	**Alcaeus** **Fragment 384 (Lobel and Page (1955), *ad loc.*). From Hephaestion, *Enchiridion*, *Handbook on Metres*, 14.4 (Consbruch 1906, p. 45)** *Τρίμετρον δὲ ἀκατάληκτον . . . καλούμενον δὲ Ἀλκαϊκὸν δωδεκασύλλαβον, οἷον* *ἰόπλοκ᾽ ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι* There is an acatalectic trimeter . . . called the Alcaic 12-syllable, e.g. 'violet-haired, holy, sweetly-smiling Sappho'	– Acatalectic trimeter – Holy Sappho
BC 484–424	**Herodotus** ***Historiae*, *The Persion Wars*, 2.135 (Wilson (2015), pp. 206–7)** *Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός μιν· ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ᾽ ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς δὴ εἶναι Ῥοδώπιος, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι . . . Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.* Rhodopis arrived in Egypt, brought by Xanthes of Samos. On arrival she was freed for a lot of money in order to work, by a man from Mytilene, Charaxus son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poet. Thus Rhodopis was freed and stayed in Egypt, and since she was extremely lovely she gained much wealth,	– Mytilene – Scamandronymus – Charaxus – Rhodopis/Doricha – Pyramids – Delphi – Sappho's poem to her brother Charaxus

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	for Rhodopis that is, but certainly not enough for such a pyramid . . . When Charaxus had freed Rhodopis and returned home to Mytilene, Sappho mocked him in a song.	
BC 429–327	**Plato** ***Phaedrus*, 235c (Burnet (1905) vol. 2 *ad loc.*)** *ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Νῦν μὲν οὕτως οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τινῶν ἀκήκοα, ἤ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ καὶ συγγραφέων τινῶν.* Socrates: I cannot say, just at this moment; but I certainly must have heard something, either from the lovely Sappho or the wise Anacreon, or perhaps from some prose writers.	– Socrates – Beauty of Sappho – Wisdom of Anacreon
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.506 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 312) *Ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες· ὡς –όλιγώρως·* *ἠνίδε καὶ Σαπφὼ Λεσβ–θεν ἡ δεκάτη.* Some say the Muses are nine, but how carelessly! Look at the tenth, Sappho from Lesbos.	– Sappho, the tenth Muse
BC floruit 385	**Antiphanes** **Fr. 196 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, pp. 94–6). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 10.73 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 2, p. 479) (= 10.450ef–10.451ab Casaubon/Olson)** *ἐν δὲ Σαπφοῖ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης αὐτὴν τὴν ποιήτριαν προβάλλουσαν ποιεῖ γρίφους τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, ἐπιλυομένου τινὸς οὕτως. ἣ μὲν γάρ φησιν·* *ἔστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σῴζουσ' ὑπὸ κόλποις*	– *Sappho* a comedy – Sappho as character – Riddle – Text – Letters

αὐτῆς, ὄντα δ᾽ ἄφωνα βοὴν ἵστησι γεγωνὸν
καὶ διὰ πόντιον οἶδμα καὶ ἠπείρου διὰ πάσης
οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν, τοῖς δ᾽ οὐδὲ παροῦσιν ἀκούειν
ἔξεστιν· κωφὴν δ᾽ ἀκοῆς αἴσθησιν ἔχουσιν.
ταῦτά τις ἐπιλυόμενός φησιν·
ἡ μὲν φύσις γὰρ ἣν λέγεις ἐστὶν πόλις,
βρέφη δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ διατρέφει τοὺς ῥήτορας.
οὗτοι κεκραγότες δὲ τὰ διαπόντια
τἀκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τἀπὸ Θρᾴκης λήμματα
ἕλκουσι δεῦρο. νεμομένων δὲ πλησίον
αὐτῶν κάθηται λοιδορουμένων τ᾽ ἀεὶ
ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἀκούων οὔθ᾽ ὁρῶν.
Σ . . . . . πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, ὦ πάτερ,
ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος; Β. ἦν ἁλῷ τρὶς παρανόμων.
καὶ μὴν ἀκριβῶς ᾠόμην ἐγνωκέναι
τὸ ῥηθέν. ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε.
ἔπειτα ποιεῖ τὴν Σαπφὼ διαλυομένην τὸν γρῖφον οὕτως·
θήλεια μέν νύν ἐστι φύσις ἐπιστολή,
βρέφη δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα·
ἄφωνα δ᾽ ὄντα <ταῦτα> τοῖς πόρρω λαλεῖ
οἷς βούλεθ᾽· ἕτερος δ᾽ ἂν τύχῃ τις πλησίον
ἑστὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται.

In *Sappho* Antiphanes represents the poetess herself as posing riddles in this way, while a male character tries to solve them, as follows. For she says: (Sappho) It is a female creature that keeps its children safe beneath the folds of its garment. And though they are mute, they raise a resounding cry through the sea-surge and the whole mainland to whichever mortals they wish, and even

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	those who are not there can hear them, deaf though their perception is. The man trying to solve the riddles says the following: Yes—because the object you're describing is a city, and the children she nourishes inside herself are the politicians. They shout and bring the overseas revenues from Asia and Thrace to us here. And while they are splitting the money up among themselves and constantly calling each other names, the people sit nearby, and do not hear or see anything. (Sappho) . . . For how, old sir, could a politician lack a voice? (B.) If he's convicted three times of making an illegal proposal! . . . And yet I thought I had figured out exactly what you said. But tell me (the answer). Then he represents Sappho as offering the correct solution to the riddle, as follows: (Sappho) The female creature is a text, and the children she carries around inside herself are the letters. Even though they are mute, they speak to anyone they want who is far away. And if someone else happens to be standing nearby, he will not hear the man who is reading.	
BC fourth century	**Diphilus** **Fr. 69 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, p. 564). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 11.73 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 72) (= 11.487a Casaubon/Olson)** *Δίφιλος Σαπφοῖ·* *Ἀρχίλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μεταναιπτρίδα* *μεστὴν Διὸς σωτῆρος, ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος.* Diphilus in *Sappho*: Archilochus, take this metaniptris full of Zeus the Savior, the Good Divinity!	– *Sappho*, a comedy – Archilochus

	Fr. 70 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, p. 564). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.72 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 321) (= 13.599d Causabon/Olson) *καὶ γὰρ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν Σαπφοῖ δράματι Σαπφοῦς ἐραστὰς Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Ἱππώνακτα.* The comic poet Diphilus in his play *Sappho*, moreover, represents Archilochus and Hipponax as Sappho's loving admirers.	– Diphilus – *Sappho*, a comedy – Archilochus – Hipponax
BC fourth century	**Epicrates** **Fr. 4 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, p. 284). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.84 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 335) (= 13.605e Causabon/Olson)** *κἀγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἐπικράτους Ἀντιλαίδα* *τἀρωτίκ' ἐκμεμάθηκα ταῦτα παντελῶς* *Σαπφοῦς, Μελήτου, Κλεομένους, Λαμυνθίου.* I too, to quote Epicrates' *Antilais*, have systematically memorized this erotic poetry produced by Sappho, Meletus, Cleomenes, and Lamynthius.	– *Antilais*, a comedy – Meletus – Cleomenes – Lamynthius
BC fourth century	**Ephippus** **Fr. 20 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, p. 262). Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.30 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 262) (= 13.572c Casaubon/Olson)** *καλῶς δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἔφιππος ἐν Σαπφοῖ φησιν·* *ὅταν γὰρ ὢν νέος* *ἀλλότριον εἰσελθὼν ὄψον ἐσθίειν μάθῃ* *ἀσύμβολόν τε χεῖρα προσβάλῃ βορᾷ,* *διδόναι νόμιζ' αὐτὸν σὺ τῆς νυκτὸς λόγον.*	– *Sappho*, a comedy – Male 'prostitution'

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Ephippus has a nice remark about such people in his *Sappho*: For whenever a young man learns to visit a stranger to eat a meal, and he digs into the food with a hand which has had no part in the preparation, you should assume that he is settling his account in the nighttime.	
BC fourth century	**Palaephatus** ***De incredibilibus*, *Incredible Tales*, 48 (Festa (1902), p. 69)** *Τῷ Φάωνι βίος ἦν περὶ πλοῖον εἶναι καὶ θάλασσαν. πορθμὸς ἦν ἡ θάλασσα· ἔγκλημα δὲ οὐδὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς ἐκομίζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ μέτριος ἦν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων μόνον ἐδέχετο. θαῦμα ἦν τοῦ τρόπου παρὰ τοῖς Λεσβίοις. ἐπαινεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ θεός· Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσι τὴν θεόν· καὶ ὑποδῦσα θέαν ἀνθρώπου, γυναικὸς ἤδη γεγηρακυίας, τῷ Φάωνι διαλέγεται περὶ πλοῦ. ταχὺς ἦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ διακομίσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπαιτῆσαι. τί οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ θεός; ἀμεῖψαί φασι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀμείβεται νεότητι καὶ κάλλει τὸν γέροντα. οὗτος ὁ Φάων ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ἡ Σαπφὼ πολλάκις ἐμελοποίησεν.* Phaon's life revolved round his boat and the sea or, rather, a strait. He met with no complaint from anyone, since he was a fair man and accepted money only from those who were rich. There was amazement among the Lesbians at his way of life. The goddess, by whom they mean Aphrodite, approved of this man, so she assumed the appearance of a mortal, an aged woman, and spoke with Phaon about a crossing. He quickly carried her over and asked for nothing. What did the goddess do then? They say she transformed the old man and repaid him with youth and beauty. This then is the Phaon on account of whom Sappho often made songs about her love.	– Phaon the ferryman, transformed from old to young – Aphrodite – Sappho's lyric poetry

BC 384–322

Aristotle

***Rhetorica*, *Art of Rhetoric*, 1367a7 (Ross (1959), *ad loc.*)**

- Alcaeus
- Dialogue with Sappho
- Shame
- Reproach
- Sappho fr. 137 Voigt

τὰ γὰρ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχύνονται καὶ λέγοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ μέλλοντες, ὥσπερ καὶ Σαπφὼ πεποίηκεν, εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀλκαίου

θέλω τι εἰπῆν, ἀλλά με κωλύει
αἰδώς,

αἱ δ' ἦχες ἐσθλῶν ἵμερον ἢ καλῶν
καὶ μή τι εἰπῆν γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κακόν
αἰδώς κέν σε οὐκ εἶχεν ὄμματ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῶ δικαίω.

. . . for we are ashamed of what is disgraceful, in words, acts, or intention; as, for instance, when Alcaeus said: 'I would happily say something, but shame holds me back,' Sappho responded: 'Had you desired what was good or noble, and had not your tongue stirred up some evil to utter it, shame would not have filled your eyes, but you would have spoken of what is right.'

***Rhetorica*, *Art of Rhetoric*, 1398b11 (Ross (1959), *ad loc.*)**

- Fame (despite disadvantages)
- Alcimadas
- Archilochus
- Homer
- Sappho
- Chilon
- Pythagoras
- Anaxagoras

καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν· 'Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι, καὶ Χῖοι Ὅμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφὼ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὖσαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἥκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν, καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ξένον ὄντα ἔθαψαν καὶ τιμῶσι ἔτι καὶ νῦν . . .

Similarly, in order to prove that men of talent are everywhere honoured, Alcidamas said: 'The Parians honoured Archilochus, in spite of his evil-speaking; the Chians Homer, although he had rendered no public services; the Mytilenaeans Sappho, although she was a woman; the Lacedaemonians, by no means a people fond of learning, elected Chilon one of their senators; the Italiotes honoured Pythagoras, and the Lampsacenes buried Anaxagoras, although he was a foreigner, and still hold him in honour . . .

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Rhetorica*, *Art of Rhetoric*, 1398b12 (Ross (1959), *ad loc.*)** *. . . ἢ ὥσπερ Σαπφώ, ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν· οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν· ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν.* . . . or as Sappho says: Death is evil, as the gods have decided, for otherwise they would have died.	– Death – The gods
BC 350–275	**Chamaeleon** **Fr. 26 (Wehrli (1957), *ad loc.*). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.72 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 321) (= 13.599cd Casaubon/Olson)** *Χαμαιλέων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαπφοῦς καὶ λέγειν τινάς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος τάδε* *σφαίρῃ δεῦτέ με πορφυρέῃ* *βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως* *νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ* *συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται.* *ἣ δ' (ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου* *Λέσβου) τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην* *(λευκὴ γάρ) καταμέμφεται,* *πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.* *καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν* *κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες* *ὕμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς* *Τήιος χώρας ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς* *πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.*	– Anacreon about Sappho – Suggestive, female homoeroticism – Sappho's response to Anacreon – Hermesianax

ὅτι δὲ οὔκ ἐστι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο τὸ ᾄσμα παντί που δῆλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι παίζειν τὸν Ἑρμησιάνακτα περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος.

Chamaeleon in his *On Sappho* says that some authorities claim that Anacreon refers to her in the following passage:

'When golden-haired Eros strikes me with a purple ball, he is challenging me to have fun with that girl who is wearing the fancy sandals. But since she is from Lesbos full of lovely cities, she is unhappy with my hair, because it's grey, and her attention is fixed on a different girl.'

Sappho for her part, he says, offered the following response to Anacreon:

'Muse seated on a gold throne—that hymn you recited was the one the noble old man from the fine land of Teos, rich in beautiful women, used to sing so nicely.'

That this song is not by Sappho is obvious to everyone, I suppose, and in my judgment Hermesianax is joking when he refers to their love.

BC ?344–292/1

Menander

From Strabo, *Geographica*, *Geography*, 10.2.9 (Radt (2004), vol. 3, p. 180)

– Leap from Leucas
– Suicide
– Phaon

ἔχει δὲ τὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἅλμα τὸ τοὺς ἔρωτας παύειν πεπιστευμένον·

οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ,
ὥς φησιν ὁ Μένανδρος
τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων'
οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥῖψαι πέτρας
ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς.

Apollo's sanctuary Leucas is there, and the cliff believed to suspend desires, 'where it is said Sappho was the first', according to Menander, 'to throw herself from the far-shining rock, when she was pursuing the arrogant Phaon with a longing that stung like a gadfly.'

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
BC fourth–third century	**Clearchus of Soli** ***Erotica* Fr. 33 (Wehrli (1969), *ad loc.*). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 14.43 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 410) (= 14.639a Casaubon/Olson)** *Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐρωτικῶ τὰ ἐρωτικά φησιν ἄσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφοῦς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν.* Clearchus in Book II of the *Erotica* says that erotic songs and the so-called *Locrica* are no different from the poems of Sappho and Anacreon.	– *Erotica*, collection of books, *Locrica*, an erotic work
BC fourth–third century	**Menaechmus of Sicyon** **Fr. 5 (Müller (1846), p. 146). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 14.36 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 401) (= 14.635b Casaubon/Olson)** *Μέναιχμος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τεχνιτῶν τὴν πηκτίδα, ἣν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ μαγάδιδι, Σαπφώ φησιν εὑρεῖν.* Menaechmus in his *On Artists* claims that Sappho invented the pectis, which he identifies with the magadis.	– *Pectis*, stringed instrument – *Magadis*, instrument with twenty strings arranged in octaves
	Fr. 6 (Müller (1846), p. 146). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 14.37 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 403) (= 14.635e Casaubon/Olson) *πηκτὶς δὲ καὶ μάγαδις ταὐτόν, καθά φησιν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος καὶ Μέναιχμος ὁ Σικυώνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τεχνιτῶν. καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ δέ φησιν οὗτος, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀνακρέοντος πρεσβυτέρα, πρώτην χρήσασθαι τῇ πηκτίδι.* A pectis and a magadis are the same instrument, according to Aristoxenus and Menaechmus of Sicyon in his *On Artists*; the latter authority adds that Sappho, who is earlier than Anacreon, was the first person to play the pectis.	– *Pectis* – *Magadis* – Aristoxenus – Menaechmus of Sicyon – *On Artists*, work of Menaechmus – Anacreon – Sappho, the first user of the pectis

BC fourth–third century	**Timocles** **Fr. 30 (Kock (1880–8), vol. 2, p. 464). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 8.22 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 2, p. 245) (= 8.339c Casaubon/Olson)** *καὶ Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Σαπφοῖ φησιν·* *ὁ Μισγόλας οὐ προσιέναι σοι φαίνεται* *ἀνθοῦσι τοῖς νέοισιν ἠρεθισμένος.* Timocles as well says in *Sappho*: Misgolas does not seem to be approaching you, even though he gets excited by handsome boys.	– *Sappho*, a comedy – Misgolas – Male homoeroticism
BC *c.*300	**Nossis** **From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 7.718 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 422)** *Ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τύ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλάναν* *τᾶν Σαπφοῦς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,* *εἰπεῖν, ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήνᾳ τε Λοκρὶς γᾶ* *τίκτε μ' ἴσαν χὤς μοι τοὔνομα Νοσσίς, ἴθι.* Stranger, if you sail to Mytilene with its lovely dances to enjoy the blossom of Sappho's charms, tell them that the land of Locris gave birth to me, dear to the Muses and equal to her, and that my name was Nossis. Go!	– Mytilene – Sappho, the flower of the Graces – Locris – Nossis
BC *c.*300	**Nymphis = Nymphodorus of Syracuse** **From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.70 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 315) (= 13.596e Casaubon/Olson)** *καὶ ἡ ἐξ Ἐρέσου δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας . . . Σαπφὼ τοῦ καλοῦ Φάωνος ἐρασθεῖσα* *περιβόητος ἦν, ὥς φησι Νύμφις ἐν Περίπλῳ Ἀσίας.*	– Sappho, the prostitute – Eresus – Phaon

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Also she from Eresus . . . of the courtesan . . . Sappho was notorious for being in love with the handsome Phaon, as Nymphis says in his *Voyage along the Coast of Asia*.	– *Voyage along the Coast of Asia*, Nymphodorus' work
BC *c.*310–240	**Posidippus of Pella** **Poem 122 (Austin and Bastianini (2002), p. 158). From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.69 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3 pp. 314–15) (= 13.596bd Casaubon/Olson)** [Comment by **Athenaeus**]: *ἐνδόξους δὲ ἑταίρας καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει διαφερούσας ἤνεγκεν καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις· Δωρίχαν τε, ἣν ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χαράξου νοσφισαμένην. Ἡρόδοτος δ᾽ αὐτὴν Ῥοδῶπιν καλεῖ, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἑτέρα τῆς Δωρίχης ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἡ καὶ τοὺς περιβοήτους ὀβελίσκους ἀναθεῖσα ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὧν μέμνηται Κρατῖνος διὰ τούτων . . . εἰς δὲ τὴν Δωρίχαν τόδ᾽ ἐποίησε τοὐπίγραμμα Ποσείδιππος, [καίτοι] καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ πολλάκις αὐτῆς μνημονεύσας. ἐστὶ <δὲ> τόδε·* [Poem by **Posidippus**]: *Δωρίχα, ὀστέα μὲν σὰ πάλαι κόνις ἦν ὅ τε δεσμὸς* *χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,* *ἣι ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον* *σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἥψαο κισσυβίων·* *Σαπφῶιαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν* *ὠιδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες* *οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν, ὃ Ναύκρατις ὧδε φυλάξει* *ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἴηι Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ᾽ ἁλὸς πελάγη.*	– Naucratis – Doricha – Sappho's brother Charaxus – Herodotus – Rhodopis – Doricha – Delphi – Cratinus – Posidippus – *Ethiopia*, Posidippus' work – The white columns (= writings) of Sappho's ode – Nile

Naucratis also produced famous and exceptionally beautiful courtesans, including Doricha, who was a lover of Sappho's brother Charaxus, who sailed to Naucratis on a trading journey; the lovely Sappho abuses her in her poems for extracting a substantial amount of money from Charaxus. Herodotus refers to her as Rhodopis, being unaware that this is a different person from Doricha; his Rhodopis also dedicated the well-known spits in Delphi, which Cratinus mentions in the following passage: . . . Posidippus wrote the following epigram about Doricha and also mentioned her repeatedly in his *Ethiopia*. The epigram runs as follows:

Doricha, your bones have long been dust, along with the band you wore in your hair, and the perfume-breathing shawl in which you once enfolded the graceful Charaxus, flesh to flesh, and took hold of early-morning cups of wine. But the white columns of Sappho's lovely ode still endure and will endure, proclaiming your blessed name, which Naucratis will preserve so long as ships sail forth from the Nile into the sea.

BC early third century

Hermesianax

Fr. 3 (Lightfoot (1999), p. 168), *Leontion* 3.47–56. From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.71 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 318) (= 13.597b Casaubon/Olson)

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,
Σαπφοῦς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,
γινώσκεις. ὁ δ' ἀοιδὸς ἀηδόνος ἠράσαθ' ὕμνων
Τήϊον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ.
καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλλητ' Ἀνακρείων
στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσιν·
φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὴν
οἰνηρῇ δείρῃ κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,

– Sappho as nightingale
– Alcaeus
– Anacreon
– Exile
– Cyrus
– Polycrates
– Alyattes

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Λέσβον ἐς εὔοινον· τὸ δὲ Μύσιον εἴσιδε Λέκτον *πολλάκις Αἰολικοῦ κύματος ἀντιπέρας.* How many revels, singing his desire for Sappho, Lesbian Alcaeus held you know. The bard who loved the nightingale gave pain to the Teian through the eloquence of his songs. For honey-tongued Anacreon contended for her, arrayed among the many Lesbians. Sometimes he went from Samos, else his own home nestling on a hillside clad with vines, to Lesbos rich in wine. He often gazed at Mysian Lectos over the Aeolian sea. [Commentary by **Athenaeus** (13.72, vol. 3, p. 320)] *ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται συγχρονεῖν οἰόμενος Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τὸν μὲν κατὰ Κῦρον καὶ Πολυκράτην γενόμενον, τὴν δὲ κατ' Ἀλυάττην τὸν Κροίσου πατέρα.* Hermesianax is in error in this passage, since he believes that Sappho and Anacreon are contemporaries, whereas in fact Anacreon lived in the time of Cyrus and Polycrates, but Sappho lived in the time of Croesus' father Alyattes.	
BC b. 276–272	**Euphorion** ***On the Isthmian Games*, From Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 4.80 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 1, p. 398) (= 4.182ef Casaubon/Olson)** *Εὐφορίων δὲ ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων, οἱ νῦν, φησίν, καλούμενοι ναβλισταὶ καὶ πανδουρισταὶ καὶ σαμβυκισταὶ καινῷ μὲν οὐδενὶ χρῶνται ὀργάνῳ. τὸν γὰρ*	– *Sambyca*, triangular musical instrument with four strings – *Baromos*, another word for barbitos, instrument

	βάρωμον καὶ βάρβιτον, ὧν Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέων μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τὴν μάγαδιν καὶ τὰ τρίγωνα καὶ τὰς σαμβύκας ἀρχαῖα εἶναι. ἐν γοῦν Μιτυλήνῃ μίαν τῶν Μουσῶν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος ἔχουσαν σαμβύκην. Euphorion the hexameter poet says in his work on the Isthmian games that the modern instrumentalists called nablas-players and pandoura-players and sambyca-players are not playing a new instrument. For he says that the baromos and barbitos, which Sappho and Anacreon mention, and the magadis and trigona and the sambycae, are ancient; and in fact that in Mytilene one of the Muses was portrayed by Lesbothemis as holding a sambyca.	– *Magadis* – *Trigonon* (pl. trigona) musical instrument of triangular form – Mytilene – Lesbothemis
BC 264/263	***Marmor Parium*** **Entry 36 (Jacoby (1904), p. 12)** *ἀφ' οὗ Σαπφὼ ἐγ Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, φυγοῦσα . . .* *ἄρχο]ντος Ἀθήνησιν μὲν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Συρακούσσαις δὲ τῶν γαμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχήν.* From the time Sappho sailed into exile from Mytilene to Sicily . . . Critias the elder ruled Athens, and the landowners were in power in Syracuse.	– Mytilene – Sicily – Exile – Syracuse – Critias, the archon
BC second century	**Antipater of Sidon** **From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 7.14 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 22)** *Σαπφώ τοι κεύθεις, χθὼν Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσαις* *ἀθανάταις θνατὰν Μοῦσαν ἀειδομέναν,* *ἃν Κύπρις καὶ Ἔρως συνάμ' ἔτραφον, ἃς μέτα Πειθὼ* *ἔπλεκ' ἀείζωον Πιερίδων στέφανον,* *Ἑλλάδι μὲν τέρψιν, σοὶ δὲ κλέος. ὦ τριέλικτον* *Μοῖραι δινεῦσαι νῆμα κατ' ἠλακάτας,* *πῶς οὐκ ἐκλώσασθε πανάφθιτον ἦμαρ ἀοιδῷ* *ἄφθιτα μησαμένᾳ δῶρ' Ἑλικωνιάδων;*	– Muse – Cypris = Aphrodite – Eros – Peitho – Greece – Fates – Helicon – Sappho's death-defying fame

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	O Aeolian land, you cover Sappho, who with the immortal Muses is celebrated as the mortal Muse; whom Cypris and Eros together reared, with whom Peitho wove the undying wreath of song, a joy to Hellas and a glory to you. O you Fates twirling the triple thread on the spindle, why spun you not an everlasting life for the singer who devised the deathless gifts of the Muses of Helicon?	
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 7.15 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 22)	– Fame – Maeonides = Homer
	Οὔνομά μευ Σαπφώ· τόσσον δ' ὑπερέσχον ἀοιδὰν *θηλειᾶν, ἀνδρῶν ὅσσον ὁ Μαιονίδας.*	
	My name is Sappho, and I excelled all women in song as much as Maeonides excelled men.	
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.66 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 48)	– Mnemosyne – Sappho, the tenth Muse
	Μναμοσύναν ἔλε θάμβος, ὅτ' ἔκλυε τᾶς μελιφώνου *Σαπφοῦς, μὴ δεκάταν Μοῦσαν ἔχουσι βροτοί.*	
	Mnemosyne was smitten with astonishment when she heard honey-voiced Sappho, wondering if men possess a tenth Muse.	
BC *c.*110–40/35	**Philodemus** ***P. Herc.* 460 fr. 8, *On Poems*, 1.117.7–13 (Janko (2000), p. 330)**	– Lampoons – Tragic verses – Sappho, composer of iambics, verses in the manner of lampoons – Archilochus – Generic nature
	οἱ γ[ὰρ ἰ]αμβοποιοὶ τραγικὰ ποιοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοὶ πάλιν ἰαμβικά, καὶ Σαπφώ τινα ἰαμβικῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐκ ἰαμβικῶς. ὥστε φύσει μὲν [οὐ ῥ]ητέον ἰαμβοποιὸν [ἢ ἄλλ]ο τι ποιοῦντα γένος, ἀλλὰ νόμωι . . .	
	For poets of lampoons compose tragic (verses), and conversely tragic poets compose lampoons, and Sappho composes some (verses) in the manner of	

lampoons, and Archilochus (some) not in the manner of lampoons. Hence one must say that a composer of lampoons or some other genre (exists) not by nature, but by convention . . .

– Generic convention

***P.Herc.* 1425 and 1538, *The Fifth Book on Poetics*, *col. 18 l.* 4–7 (Mangoni (1993), *ad loc.*)**

– Epigrammatists
– Sappho's poetry
– Good poetry
– Theognis

. . . κοι̣νῶ[ς δ]ὲ τῆς π[ο]ιήσεως ὑπακουομένης, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραμματοποιῶν καὶ Σαπφοῦς, ἐ[κεῖνο]ς ταὐ[τ]ὸν ἐρεῖ τῶι ποητὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν ποιημάτων κα[λ]ῶν συνθέτην, ὃ καὶ πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγονέναι κατείχομεν.

. . . for if he [a hypothetical interlocutor rather than a named critic] means poesis of any kind, the epigrammatists' and Sappho's included, that just means the good poet is the composer of good poetry, *poemata*, which we grasped 'before Theognis was born'.

From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 5.132 (= 12 Sider (1997) *ad loc.*)

– Oscan Flora
– Ignorance of the poetry of Sappho
– Perseus
– Andromeda

Ὦ ποδός, ὦ κνήμης, ὦ τῶν (ἀπόλωλα δικαίως)
μηρῶν, ὦ γλουτῶν, ὦ κτενός, ὦ λαγόνων,
ὄ ὄμοιν, ὦ μαστῶν, ὦ τοῦ ῥαδινοῖο τραχήλου,
ὦ χειρῶν, ὦ τῶν (μαίνομαι) ὀμματίων,
ὦ κακοτεχνοτάτου κινήματος, ὦ περιάλλων
γλωττισμῶν, ὦ τῶν (θῦέ ἐμὲ) φωναρίων.
εἰ δ' Ὀπικὴ καὶ Φλῶρα καὶ οὐκ ἄδουσα τὰ Σαπφοῦς,
καὶ Περσεὺς Ἰνδῆς ἠράσατ' Ἀνδρομέδης.

O foot! O leg! O (I'm done for—and rightly so!) those thighs! O buttocks! O bush! O flanks! O shoulders! O breasts! O delicate neck! O arms! O (I'm going mad!), those eyes! O most lascivious movements! O outstanding tonguings! O (slay me!) her exclamations! And if she is Oscan, named Flora, and does not sing Sappho's songs—well, even Perseus fell in love with Indian Andromeda.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
BC 106–43	**Cicero** ***In Verrem*, *Against Verres*, 2.4.57 (Long and Macleane (1862) pp. 515–17)** Nam Sappho, quae sublata de prytanio est, dat tibi iustam excusationem, prope ut concedendum atque ignoscendum esse uideatur. Silanionis opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum, quisquam non modo priuatus sed populus potius haberet quam homo elegantissimus atque eruditissimus, Verres? . . . Atque haec Sappho sublata quantum desiderium sui reliquerit dici uix potest. Nam quum ipsa fuit egregie facta, tum epigramma Graecum pernobile incisum est in basi, quod iste eruditus homo et Graeculus, qui haec subtiliter iudicat, qui solus intellegit, si unam litteram graecam scisset, certe non [una] sustulisset. Nunc enim quod scriptum est inani in basi declarat quid fuerit, et id ablatum indicat. Your theft of the Sappho from the town-hall, of course, may very reasonably be defended: it almost seems an action that deserves to be allowed and overlooked. To this choice and highly finished masterpiece of Silanion what individual, what nation, even, could have a better claim than so accomplished a connoisseur as Verres? . . . Words can hardly convey the bitter sense of loss that the theft of this Sappho left behind it. Itself an exceptionally fine work of art, it had a notable Greek inscription cut on its pedestal, which this learned exponent of Greek culture, with his delicate critical sense and unique appreciation of these matters, would certainly not have removed [together with the statue], if he had understood one word of Greek. As it is, the words written on the unoccupied pedestal tell us what once stood there, and inform us that it has been taken away.	– Silanion – Sappho's honorific portrait – Syracuse – Verres

BC *c.*100

Moschus
***Epitaphios Bionis*, *Lament for Bion*, 86–92 (Gow (1952), pp. 143–4)**

πᾶσα, Βίων, θρηνεῖ σε κλυτὰ πόλις, ἄστεα πάντα.
Ἄσκρα μὲν γοάει σε πολὺ πλέον Ἡσιόδοιο·
Πίνδαρον οὐ ποθέοντι τόσον Βοιωτίδες ὗλαι·
οὐ τόσον Ἀλκαίῳ περιμύρατο Λέσβος ἐραννά,
οὐδὲ τόσον τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὀδύρατο Τήιον ἄστυ·
σὲ πλέον Ἀρχιλόχοιο ποθεῖ Πάρος, ἀντὶ δὲ Σαπφοῦς
εἰσέτι σεῦ τὸ μέλισμα κινύρεται ἁ Μιτυλήνα.

Every famous city, every town laments you, Bion. Ascra groans for you much more than for Hesiod; the woods of Boeotia do not yearn for Pindar so much as for you; lovely Lesbos did not grieve so much for Alcaeus, nor the town of Teos for its own poet; Paros missed you more than Archilochus; *Mytilene* still mourns for your music, and not for Sappho's.

– Ascra
– Hesiod
– Boeotia
– Pindar
– Lesbos
– Alcaeus
– Teos
– Anacreon
– Paros
– Archilochus
– Mytilene
– Sappho

BC *c.*100

Meleager of Gadara
***Introduction to 'Garland'* 1–14. From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 4.1 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 1, p. 240)**

Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον ἀοιδὰν
ἢ τίς ὁ καὶ τεύξας ὑμνοθετᾶν στέφανον;
ἄνυσε μὲν Μελέαγρος· ἀριζάλῳ δὲ Διοκλεῖ
μναμόσυνον ταύταν ἐξεπόνησε χάριν·
πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μέν, ἀλλὰ ῥόδα,
ναρκίσσων τε χορὸν Μελανιππίδου ἔγκυον ὕμνων,
καὶ νέον οἰνάνθης κλῆμα Σιμωνίδεω·

– Muse
– Garland of poets
– Meleager
– Diocles
– Anyte
– Moero
– Sappho's poetry described as roses
– Melanippides
– Simonides
– Nossis
– Rhianus

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	σὺν δ' ἀναμὶξ πλέξας μυρόπνουν εὐάνθεμον ἶριν *Νοσσίδος, ἧς δέλτοις κηρὸν ἔτηξεν Ἔρως·* *τῇ δ' ἅμα καὶ σάμψυχον ἀφ' ἡδυπνόοιο Ῥιανοῦ,* *καὶ γλυκὺν Ἠρίννης παρθενόχρωτα κρόκον,* *Ἀλκαίου τε λάληθρον ἐν ὑμνοπόλοις ὑάκινθον,* *καὶ Σαμίου δάφνης κλῶνα μελαμπέταλον·* To whom, dear Muse, do you bring these varied fruits of song, or who was it who also wrought this garland of poets? The work was Meleager's; he produced this gift as a keepsake for the illustrious Diocles. He wove in many red lilies of Anyte, and many white lilies of Moero; a few of Sappho, but they are roses; a narcissus, pregnant with piercing songs of Melanippides; and a young twig of Simonides' grapevine. Mingled with these he wove in the sweet-scented blossoming iris of Nossis (the wax of her tablets Love himself melted) and with it marjoram from fragrant Rhianus; Erinna's sweet saffron, with a maiden's blush; Alcaeus' hyacinth, babbling for poets; and a dark-leaved sprig of Samius' bay.	– Erinna – Alcaeus – Samius
BC first century	**Demetrius** ***De Elocutione*, *On Style*, 127 (Innes (1999), p. 425)** *τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἴδους ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ "φαλακρότερος εὐδίας" καὶ τὸ "κολοκύντης ὑγιέστερος." τὸ δὲ "χρυσῶ χρυσοτέρα" τὸ Σαπφικὸν ἐν ὑπερβολῇ λέγεται καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀδυνάτως, πλὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ χάριν ἔχει, οὐ ψυχρότητα. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις Σαπφοῦς τῆς θείας, ὅτι φύσει κινδυνώδει πράγματι καὶ δυσκατορθώτῳ ἐχρήσατο ἐπιχαρίτως. καὶ περὶ μὲν ψυχρότητος καὶ ὑπερβολῆς τοσαῦτα.*	– Frigidity – Hyperbole – Charm – Divine Sappho – Sappho fr. 156 Voigt

Of the same type are the expressions 'balder than a cloudless sky' and 'healthier than a pumpkin'. Sappho's phrase, 'more golden than gold' is also in form a hyperbole and impossible, but by its very impossibility it is charming, not frigid. Indeed, it is a most marvellous achievement of the divine Sappho that she handled an intrinsically risky and intractable device to create charm. This concludes my account of frigidity and hyperbole.

***De elocutione*, *On Style*, 132 (Innes (1999), p. 428)**

- Charm
- Gardens of the nymphs
- Marriage songs
- Poetry of Sappho in general

τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τῶν χαρίτων τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε. Εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις.

This, then, is the number and variety of the forms of charm. The charm may lie in the subject matter, such as gardens of the nymphs, marriage songs, loves, or the poetry of Sappho generally.

***De elocutione*, *On Style*, 140–1 (Innes (1999), p. 432–4)**

- Charm
- Repetition
- Anaphora
- Sappho fr. 114 Voigt
- Sappho fr. 104 Voigt

Αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων χάριτες δῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ πλεῖσται παρὰ Σαπφοῖ, οἷον ἐκ τῆς ἀναδιπλώσεως, ὅπου νύμφη πρὸς τὴν παρθενίαν φησί, "παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λιποῦσα οἴχῃ;" ἡ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτὴν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι, "οὐκέτι ἥξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι ἥξω·" πλείων γὰρ χάρις ἐμφαίνεται, ἢ εἴπερ ἅπαξ ἐλέχθη καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ σχήματος. καίτοι ἡ ἀναδίπλωσις πρὸς δεινότητας μᾶλλον δοκεῖ εὑρῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δεινοτάτοις καταχρῆται ἐπιχαρίτως. χαριεντίζεται δέ ποτε καὶ ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑσπέρου, "Ἕσπερε, πάντα φέρεις," φησί, "φέρεις ὄϊν, φέρεις αἶγα, φέρεις ματέρι παῖδα." καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἡ χάρις ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς λέξεως τῆς "φέρεις" ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναφερομένης.

There is obvious charm from the use of figures, preeminently in Sappho, for example the use of repetition when a bride addresses her own virginity, 'virginity, virginity, why have you gone and left me?' and it replies to her with the same figure, 'never again shall I come to you, never again shall I come'. The idea has clearly more charm than if it had been expressed only once, without the

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	figure. Repetition, it is true, is thought to have been invented more particularly to add force, but Sappho exploits even the most forceful features for charm. Sometimes too she makes attractive use of anaphora, as in the lines on the evening star, 'Evening star, you bring everything home, you bring the sheep, you bring the goat, you bring the child to its mother'. Here the charm lies in the repetition in the same position of the phrase, 'you bring'.	
	***De elocutione, On Style*, 146 (Innes (1999), p. 436)** *Ἐκ δὲ παραβολῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξέχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἡ Σαπφώ φησι, "πέρροχος ὡς ὅτ' ἀοιδὸς ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδαποῖσιν." ἐνταῦθα γὰρ χάριν ἐποίησεν ἡ παραβολὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μέγεθος, καίτοι ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν πέρροχος ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, ἢ ὁ ἥλιος ὁ λαμπρότερος, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶ ποιητικώτερα.* Charm also comes from the use of comparison, as in Sappho's description of an exceptionally tall man as 'preeminent, like the poet of Lesbos among strangers'. Here the comparison creates charm rather than grandeur, as would have been possible if she had said, 'preeminent like the moon among the stars', or the sun, which is even brighter, or any other more poetic comparison.	– Charm – Comparison with 'the poet of Lesbos' – Sappho fr. 106 Voigt
	***De elocutione, On Style*, 148 (Innes (1999), p. 438)** *Ἔστι δέ τις ἰδίως χάρις Σαπφικὴ ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅταν τι εἰποῦσα μεταβάλληται καὶ ὥσπερ μετανοήσῃ, οἷον "ὕψου δή," φησί, "τὸ μέλαθρον ἀέρατε τέκτονες· γαμβρὸς εἰσέρχεται ἶσος Ἄρηϊ, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου πολλῷ μείζων," ὥσπερ ἐπιλαμβανομένη ἑαυτῆς, ὅτι ἀδυνάτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῷ Ἄρηϊ ἴσος ἐστίν.*	– Change as the charm of Sappho's poetry – Sappho fr. 111 Voigt – Ares

Charm also arises from a kind of change which is peculiarly characteristic of Sappho. She says something, but then changes direction, as though changing her mind, such as 'Raise high the roof of the hall, builders! The bridegroom, the equal of Ares, is approaching, much taller than a tall man.' It is as though she checks herself, because she has used an impossible hyperbole and no one is the equal of Ares.

De elocutione, _On Style_, 166 (Innes (1999), pp. 446–8)

- Sappho's beautiful words and themes, such as
- Beauty
- Desire
- Spring
- Halcyon

διὸ καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ περὶ μὲν κάλλους ἄδουσα καλλιεπής ἐστι καὶ ἡδεῖα, καὶ περὶ ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἔαρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνος, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ εἰργάσατο.

This is why Sappho sings of beauty in words which are themselves beautiful and attractive, or of love or spring or the halcyon. Every beautiful word is woven into the texture of her poetry, and some she invented herself.

BC first century

Tullius Laurea
From _Anthologia Palatina_, _The Greek Anthology_, 7.17 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 24)

- Mytilene
- Tomb of Sappho
- Muses
- Nine flowers = Sappho's nine books
- Sappho's death-defying fame

Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰὼν, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν
τὰν Μιτυληναίαν ἔννεπ' ἀοιδοπόλον·
τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες, ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν
ἐς ταχινὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα.
ἦν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσῃς χάριν, ὧν ἀφ' ἑκάστης
δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῇ θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι,
γνώσεαι, ὡς Ἀίδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον οὐδέ τις ἔσται
τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἠέλιος.

When you pass, O stranger, by the Aeolian tomb, say not that I, the Mytilenean busied with song, am dead. This tomb was built by the hands of men, and such

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	works of mortals are lost in swift oblivion. But if you enquire about me for the sake of the Muses, from each of whom I took a flower to lay beside my nine flowers of song, you shall find that I escaped the darkness of death, and that no sun shall dawn and set without memory of lyric Sappho.	
BC 65–8	**Horace** ***Epistulae*, *Epistles*, 1.19.26–9 (Shackleton Bailey (2001), p. 289)** ac ne me foliis ideo breuioribus ornes quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho, temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar . . . And lest you should crown me with a scantier wreath because I feared to change the measures and form of verse, see how manlike Sappho moulds her Muse with the rhythm of Archilochus; how Alcaeus moulds his, though in his themes and arrangement he differs . . .	– Metre – Sappho's masculine qualities – Archilochus – Alcaeus
	Scholia **Holder (1894), vol. 1, p. 362** 'mascula' autem 'Saffo', uel quia in poetico studio est <incluta>, in quo saepius uiri, uel quia tribas diffamatur fuisse. Porphyrio on Horace's *Epistles* 1.19.28 'Masculine Sappho', either because she is famous for her poetry, in which men more often excel, or because she is maligned as having been a tribad.	– Sappho on a par with male poets – Homoeroticism
	Botschuyver (1942), p. 411 6) AC NE ME] . . . Scias hoc: etiam ipse Archilochus, quem imitor, est Sapphonem imitatus in pedibus quibusdam suo iambico metro ascitis, fortasse	– Archilochus – Sappho imitating Archilochus

in pyrrhichiis. Hoc est: 'mascula Sappho temperat Musam'; quia nimis ueloces errant et inconcinni iambi simplices, ideo assumpsit pedem quondam a Sapphone e Alcaeo.

. . . Know this: even Archilochus himself, whom I imitate, is imitated by Sappho in those metrical feet [dissociated from] his iambic metre, perhaps in Pyrrhics. That is: 'manlike Sappho moulds the Muse', because the simple iambs wander too quickly and clumsily, that is why he once assumed the metrical foot of Sappho and Alcaeus.

– Iambic metre
– Phyrrics
– Alcaeus

Horace (cont.)
***Carmina*, *Odes*, 2.13.24–8 (Harrison (2017), p. 37)**

. . . et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus,
et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,
dura fugae mala, dura belli.

. . . and Sappho complaining on her Aeolian strings about the girls of her city, and you, Alcaeus, with your golden plectrum singing in more resonant tones about the harshness of life at sea, the bitter harshness of exile, the harshness of war!

– Sappho
– Lyre
– Complaint
– Girls who are Sappho's compatriots
– Alcaeus
– War

Scholia
Holder (1894), p. 72

23–5 **Et Aeoliis fidibus qu[a]erentem Sappho puellis de popularibus.** Aeoliis fidibus inquit, quia Sappho Aeolid[a]e dialecto in carminibus suis usa est. Queritur autem Sappho a puellis ciuibus suis, quod oden non ament, ipsa diligebat amens.

– Sappho's Aeolian dialect
– Sappho's reproach of the girls of her city

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	23–5 **and Sappho complaining on her Aeolian strings about the girls of her city**. He [Horace] says 'with Aeolian lyres', because Sappho uses the dialect of Aeolis in her songs. But Sappho is complaining about the girls of her city, since they do not love the ode she herself cherishes so madly.	
	Botschuyver (1935), p. 108	– Sappho, the woman poet
	25a) **SAPPHO**] Paene fuit ut | [see below] uiderem Sappho mulierem poeten querentem de popularibus puellis.	
	25a) **SAPPHO**] It was as if I almost saw Sappho the woman poet complaining about the girls from her country.	
	Botschuyver (1935), p. 108	– Sappho – Sappho, indeclinable name – Tragedies – Lament
	25b **SAPPHO**] Sappho mulier, cui nomen indeclinabile est, mulier graeca fuit, perita tragoedia, cui imitator Horatius extitit quae dicitur querellari apud Inferos de puellis ciuibus suis, cur Oden puerum non amassent, quem ipsa diligebat	
	25b) **SAPPHO**] Sappho a woman, whose name is indeclinable, was a Greek woman, experienced in tragedies, of whom Horace stood forth as an imitator and who is said to have complained in the Underworld about the girls of her country, because they had not loved the the same boy/the boy Odes, whom she loved.	
	Botschuyver (1942), p. 77	– Sappho is engaged in the same poetic undertakings above as under the earth
	25) **SAPPHO**] Sappho ista mulier postquam amicum suum perdidit, conquerebatur cum lyricis de morte illius; praeterea et dolebat de aliis puellis quae nolebant cum illa dolere nec conqueri de morte amici sui. Modo uult dicere Horatius, quod sicut illa in hac uita conquerebatur cum lyricis de morte amici, similiter adhuc conqueritur apud infernum cum lyricis. (בא)	

25) **SAPPHO**] This woman Sappho, after she has lost her friend, lamented with lyrical songs his death; furthermore she was in pain over the other girls who did not want to suffer with her or join her in her lament over her friend's death. In this way, Horace wants to say that she lamented her friend's death with lyrical songs in this life as she does—likewise—with lyrical songs even in the Underworld.

Botschuyver (1935), p. 108

– Alcaeus
– Tragedy
– The same activities in life as in death for both Sappho and Alcaeus

27c) **ALCAEE**] Alloquitur Alcaeum tragicum Graecum, cuius imitator ipse extitit et dicit quia paene fuit, ut illum uideret apud Inferos. Plenius autem dicit eum sonantem, quia Alcaeus obustiores bellicas res scriptis et nauigationem, cum a tyrannis Mytilenensibus pulsus est. Dicitur autem sonare lyram propter dignitatem carminis.

Quod uero dicit de Sappho et Alcaeo, intellegendum est de omnibus, quod officia quae in praesenti habuerint, habituri sint in alia uita.

27 **ALCAEE**] He addresses Alcaeus the Greek tragic poet, whose imitator he himself [Horace] was and says that it almost came about that he saw him in the Underworld. He says however that he sings in a richer strain, because Alcaeus wrote about tougher warlike stuff and sailing, when he had been exiled by the Mytilenean tyrants. Yet he is said to sound the lyre as is appropriate for songs.

However, that which he says about Sappho and Alcaeus, must be understood by everyone, namely that the duties they are undertaking in the presence is also what they will be undertaking in the other life.

Horace
***Carmina*, *Odes*, 4.9.10–13 (Shackleton Bailey (2001), p. 125)**

– Sappho the Aeolian girl
– Lyre

. . . spirat adhuc amor – Love
uiuuntque commissi calores – Fame

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Aeoliae fidibus puellae. . . . and that love still breathes and that passion still lives which the Aeolian girl confided to the strings of her lyre.	
	Scholia **Holder (1894), p. 152** 11.12 **Viuuntque commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae**. Calores pro 'amores' dicuntur. Saffo autem significat, quae Aeolid[a]e dialecto usa est. 'Fires' are said in place of 'loves'. However it means Sappho, who used the dialect of Aeolia.	– Fire as love – Sappho's use of the Aeolian dialect
	Botshuyver (1935), p. 207 12 **AEOLIAE PUELLAE**] Sappho mulierem poeten significat quae Aeolis fuit et scripsit multa de amoribus. **AEOLIAE PUELLAE**] means Sappho the woman poet who was Aeolian and wrote much about love.	– Sappho, the Aeolian – Writings of love
	Botschuyver (1942), p. 154 5 **NON SI PRIORES**] . . . Quasi non ideo uilipenduntur alii lusores, quia adhuc spirat amor et uiuunt adhuc calores, idest amores commissi fidibus et citharae Aeoliae puellae, idest Sappho. 5 **YET, IF THE FIRST**] . . . Other love-poets are not exactly despised, because the love still breathes and the heat still lives, that is the loves entrusted to the strings and lyre of the Aeolian girl, that is Sappho.	– Sappho as one of the love poets – Sappho of high esteem – Love as a theme of the lyre

BC 63/64–AD 23

Strabo

***Geographica*, *Geography*, 10.2.9 (Radt (2004), vol. 3, p. 180)**

ὁ μὲν οὖν Μένανδρος πρώτην ἁλέσθαι λέγει τήν Σαπφώ, οἱ δ' ἔτι ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι Κέφαλόν φασιν ἐρασθέντα Πτερέλα τὸν Δηϊονέως. ἦν δὲ καὶ πάτριον τοῖς Λευκαδίοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ῥιπτεῖσθαί τινα τῶν ἐν αἰτίαις ὄντων ἀποτροπῆς χάριν ἐξαπτομένων ἐξ αὐτοῦ παντοδαπῶν πτερῶν καὶ ὀρνέων ἀνακουφίζειν δυναμένων τῇ πτήσει τὸ ἅλμα, ὑποδέχεσθαι δὲ κάτω μικραῖς ἁλιάσι κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας πολλοὺς καὶ περισῴζειν εἰς δύναμιν τῶν ὅρων ἔξω τὸν ἀναληφθέντα.

Now although Menander says that Sappho was the first to take the leap, yet those who are better versed than he in antiquities say that it was Cephalus, who was in love with Pterelas the son of Deïoneus. It was an ancestral custom among the Leucadians, every year at the sacrifice performed in honour of Apollo, for some criminal to be flung from this rocky look-out for the sake of averting evil, wings and birds of all kinds being fastened to him, since by their fluttering they could lighten the leap, and also for a number of men, stationed all round below the rock in small fishing-boats, to take the victim in, and, when he had been taken on board, to do all in their power to get him safely outside their borders.

– Apollo at Leucas
– Sappho's leap from Leucas as cure for lovesickness
– Menander
– Phaon
– Cephalus
– Pterelas
– Deïoneus
– Criminal
– Scape-goat ritual

***Geographica*, *Geography*, 13.2.3 (Radt (2004), vol. 3, p. 624)**

συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα· οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευομένῳ φανεῖσάν τινα γυναῖκα ἐνάμιλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν ἐκείνῃ ποιήσεως χάριν.

And along with these [Pittacus, Alcaeus and Antimenidas of Mytilene] flourished also Sappho, a wonderful creature; for in all the time of which we

– Sappho as contemporary of Pittacus, Alcaeus and Antimenidas
– Sappho as superior to other women poets

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	have record I do not know of the appearance of any woman who could rival Sappho, even in a slight degree, in the matter of poetry.	
	***Geographica*, *Geography*, 17.1.33 (Radt (2005), vol. 4, p. 180)** *λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας τάφος—γεγονὼς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν—, ἣν Σαπφὼ μέν ἡ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτρια καλεῖ Δωρίχαν, ἐρωμένην τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς Χαράξου γεγονυῖαν οἶνον κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν Λέσβιον κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδῶπιν.* It is called 'Tomb of the Courtesan,' having been built by her lovers—the courtesan whom Sappho the poetess of melic songs calls Doricha, the beloved of Sappho's brother Charaxus, who was engaged in transporting Lesbian wine to Naucratis for sale, but others give her the name Rhodopis.	– Rhodopis/Doricha – Charaxus as wine trader
BC *c.*60–*c.*7	**Dionysius of Halicarnassus** ***De Demosthenis dictione*, *On the Style of Demosthenes*, 40.1–68 (Radermacher, Usener (1899), *ad loc.*)** *ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην <ἡ> γλαφυρὰ καὶ θεατρικὴ καὶ τὸ κομψὸν αἱρουμένη πρὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τοιαύτη· . . . Παραδείγματα δ' αὐτῆς ποιοῦμαι ποιητῶν μὲν Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τῶν δὲ πεζῇ λέξει χρησαμένων Ἰσοκράτην τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πλησιάσαντας.* The next kind of composition, the polished, spectacular kind, chooses to be decorative rather than dignified . . .	– Parallelism – *Antithesis* – *Paranomasia* – *Antistrophe* – *Anaphora* – Hesion – Anacreon – Isocrates

I consider its exemplars among the poets to be Hesiod, Sappho, and Anacreon, and among prose writers Isocrates the Athenian and his followers.

***De compositione verborum*, *On Literary Composition*, 19.28–31 (Radermacher, Usener (1929), *ad loc.*)**

– Alcaeus
– Strophes
– Clauses
– Epodes

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί, λέγω δὲ Ἀλκαῖόν τε καὶ Σαπφώ, μικρὰς ἐποιοῦντο στροφάς, ὥστ᾽ ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς κώλοις οὐ πολλὰς εἰσῆγον μεταβολάς, ἐπῳδοῖς τε πάνυ ἐχρῶντο ὀλίγοις·

Now the ancient lyric poets—I refer to Alcaeus and Sappho—made their strophes short, and consequently did not introduce many variations into their clauses, which were few in number, while they employed very few epodes.

***De compositione verborum*, *On Literary Composition*, 23.1–112 (Radermacher, Usener (1929), *ad loc.*)**

– Smooth style
– Hesiod
– Anacreon
– Simonides
– Euripides
– Ephorus
– Theopompus
– Isocrates

Ἡ δὲ γλαφυρὰ [καὶ ἀνθηρὰ] σύνθεσις, ἣν δευτέραν ἐτιθέμην τῇ τάξει, χαρακτῆρα τοιόνδε ἔχει· οὐ ζητεῖ καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον ὄνομα ἐκ περιφανείας ὁρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἐν ἕδρᾳ πάντα βεβηκέναι πλατείᾳ τε καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδὲ μακροὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἶναι χρόνους, οὐδ᾽ ὅλως τὸ βραδὺ καὶ σταθερὸν τοῦτο φίλον αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κεκινῆσθαι βούλεται τὴν ὀνομασίαν καὶ φέρεσθαι θάτερα κατὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ὀνομάτων καὶ ὀχεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλληλουχίαν λαμβάνοντα βάσιν ὥσπερ τὰ ῥέοντα καὶ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμοῦντα· συνηλεῖφθαί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοῖ καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια ὡς μιᾶς λέξεως ὄψιν ἀποτελοῦντα εἰς δύναμιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβειαι χρόνον αἰσθητὸν οὐδένα τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ὀνομάτων περιλαμβάνουσαι· ἔοικέ τε κατὰ μέρος εὐητρίοις ὕφεσιν ἢ γραφαῖς συνεφθαρμένα τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς ἐχούσαις. εὔφωνά τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά, τραχείαις δὲ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεταί που· τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι᾽ εὐλαβείας ἔχει. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπιτηδείως συνηρμόσθαι βούλεται καὶ συνεξέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

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κῶλα τοῖς κώλοις εὖ συνυφάνθαι καὶ πάντα εἰς περίοδον τελευτᾶν, ὁρίζουσα κώλου τε μῆκος, ὃ μὴ βραχύτερον ἔσται μηδὲ μεῖζον τοῦ μετρίου, καὶ περιόδου μέτρον, οὗ πνεῦμα τέλειον ἀνδρὸς κρατήσει· ἀπερίοδον δὲ λέξιν ἢ περίοδον ἀκώλιστον ἢ κῶλον ἀσύμμετρον οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἐργάσασθαι. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ῥυθμοῖς οὐ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέσοις τε καὶ βραχυτέροις· καὶ τῶν περιόδων τὰς τελευτὰς εὐρύθμους εἶναι βούλεται καὶ βεβηκυίας ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ στάθμης, τἀναντία ποιοῦσα ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἁρμογαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ συναλείφει, ταύτας δὲ διίστησι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ περιόπτου βούλεται φανερὰς εἶναι. σχήμασί τε οὐ τοῖς ἀρχαιοπρεπεστέροις οὐδ' ὅσοις σεμνότης τις ἢ βάρος ἢ τόνος πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρυφεροῖς τε καὶ κολακικοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι φιλεῖ, ἐν οἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλόν ἐστι καὶ θεατρικόν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ κοινότερον εἴπω, τοὐναντίον ἔχει σχῆμα τῆς προτέρας κατὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι πάλιν λέγειν. ἀκόλουθον δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ πρωτεύσαντας καταριθμήσασθαι. ἐποποιῶν μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε κάλλιστα τουτονὶ δοκεῖ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἡσίοδος, μελοποιῶν δὲ Σαπφὼ καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Ἀνακρέων τε καὶ Σιμωνίδης, τραγῳδοποιῶν δὲ μόνος Εὐριπίδης, συγγραφέων δὲ ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐδείς, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πολλῶν Ἔφορός τε καὶ Θεόπομπος, ῥητόρων δὲ Ἰσοκράτης. θήσω δὲ καὶ ταύτης παραδείγματα τῆς ἁρμονίας, ποιητῶν μὲν προχειρισάμενος Σαπφώ, ῥητόρων δὲ Ἰσοκράτην. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μελοποιοῦ.

<Sappho 1> (for the poem in Greek, see Fulkerson, Chapter 3, p. 65)

ταύτης τῆς λέξεως ἡ εὐέπεια καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ λειότητι γέγονε τῶν ἁρμονιῶν· παράκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ συνύφανται κατά τινας οἰκειότητας καὶ συζυγίας φυσικὰς τῶν γραμμάτων· τὰ γὰρ φωνήεντα τοῖς ἀφώνοις τε καὶ ἡμιφώνοις συνάπτεται μικροῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ᾠδῆς, ὅσα

προτάττεσθαί τε καὶ ὑποτάττεσθαι πέφυκεν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεκφερόμενα· ἡμιφώνων δὲ πρὸς ἡμίφωνα ἢ ἄφωνα <καὶ ἀφώνων> καὶ φωνηέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπτώσεις αἱ διασαλεύουσαι τοὺς ἤχους ὀλίγαι πάνυ ἔνεισιν· ἐγὼ γοῦν ὅλην τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀνασκοπούμενος πέντε ἢ ἕξ ἴσως ἐν τοῖς τοσούτοις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μορίοις ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων γραμμάτων συμπλοκὰς τῶν μὴ πεφυκότων ἀλλήλοις κεράννυσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτας ἐπὶ πολὺ τραχυνούσας τὴν εὐέπειαν εὑρίσκω, φωνηέντων δὲ παραθέσεις τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς κώλοις αὐτοῖς γινομένας ἔτι ἐλάττους ἢ τοσαύτας, τὰς δὲ συναπτούσας ἀλλήλοις τὰ κῶλα ὀλίγῳ τινὶ τούτων πλείονας. εἰκότως δὴ γέγονεν εὔρους τις ἡ λέξις καὶ μαλακή, τῆς ἁρμονίας τῶν ὀνομάτων μηδὲν ἀποκυματιζούσης τὸν ἦχον.

The polished style of composition, which I placed second in order, has the following character. It does not intend each word to be viewed from all sides, nor that every word shall stand on a broad, firm base, nor that the intervals of time between them shall be long; nor in general is this slow, settled quality congenial to it. It requires that the words shall keep on the move, swept forward and riding along on top of one another, all sustained in their movement by mutual support, like the current of a stream that never rests. It sets out to blend together and interweave its component parts, and to make them convey as far as possible the effect of a single utterance. This result is achieved by the exact fitting together of the words, so that no perceptible interval between them is allowed. In this respect the style resembles finely woven net, or pictures in which the lights and shadows melt into one another. It requires all its words to be melodious, smooth and soft, and like a maiden's face. It shows a sort of repugnance towards rough and dissonant syllables, and careful avoidance of everything rash and hazardous.

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It requires not only that its words shall be properly fitted and smoothed together, but also that the clauses should be effectively interwoven with one another and achieve their final form together as a period. It limits the length of a clause so that it shall not be immoderately short or long, and the length of a period by the capacity of a man's single breath to encompass it. It could not bear to produce a passage without periods, a period without a number of clauses, or a clause without balance. Again, the rhythms it uses are not the longest, but those of average length or somewhat shorter; and it requires its periods to proceed in steps measured, as it were, by a rule, and to have rhythmic clausulae. In fitting together its periods and its words it employs opposite procedures: the latter it runs together, while the former it keeps apart, wishing them to be viewed as it were from every side. As for figures, it likes for the most part to use not the most old-fashioned, nor those which have the qualities of stateliness or gravity or intensity, but rather those which are delicate and appealing, and contain much that is beguiling and suited to public performance. To speak in a more general way: the form adopted by it is exactly opposite to that of the former style in the most important and essential points. I need not go over these points again.

We may, as our next step, give a list of those who have excelled in this style. Among the epic poets, then, the one who seems to me to have developed the type most successfully is Hesiod; among lyric poets Sappho, and after her Anacreon and Simonides; of tragedians, Euripides alone; of historians, none precisely, but Ephorus and Theopompus more than most, and of the orators, Isocrates. I shall quote examples of this style, as of the first, selecting Sappho from among the poets and Isocrates from among the orators. I shall begin with her who composes poetry:

<Sappho 1> (for the poem in translation, see p. 65)

The eloquence and charm of these verses arises from the continuity and the smoothness of the connections: the words lie close to one another and are woven together according to certain natural affinities and combinations of letters. Almost throughout the whole of the ode only those vowels are joined to voiceless consonants that are naturally placed before or after one another when pronounced together in one syllable. There are very few coincidences of semivowels or voiceless consonants, or of voiceless consonants and vowels with one another such as disturb the flow of the voice. For my own part, when I examine the whole ode throughout, I find that, in all those nouns and verbs and other parts of speech, there are only five, or perhaps six, combinations of semivowels and voiceless consonants which do not naturally blend with one another; and that even these do not impair the musical quality of the language to any great extent. As for the juxtapositions of vowels, I find those occurring within clauses to be even fewer; while those which join clauses to one another are only a little more numerous. Naturally the result of this is that the diction is smooth and easy-flowing, because the word-arrangement does nothing to ruffle the smooth waves of sound.

***Ars rhetorica* (Spurious), *Inquiry of the Bridal Song* 4.1 (Radermacher, Usener (1929), *ad loc.*)**

– Birth
– Wedding
– Zeus

Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως λόγου (μικροῦ γάρ με παρῆλθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον) ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θαλάμῳ λεγόμενος λόγος· ἐχόμενος δ' ὅ τι μάλιστα καὶ ἀκόλουθος <ἂν> εἴη τοῖς γαμικοῖς τῶν λόγων, σχεδὸν εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ γαμικῷ, πλὴν τῷ χρόνῳ διαφέρων, ἐπὶ τετελεσμένοις τοῖς γάμοις λεγόμενος οὗτος· οὐ μὴν τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἀπᾴδων τοῦ προειρημένου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντὶ

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ὑμεναίων ἐπᾳδόμενος τοῖς γάμοις. τινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ Σαπφοῖ τῆς ἰδέας ταύτης παραδείγματα, ἐπιθαλάμιοι οὕτως ἐπιγραφόμεναι ᾠδαί· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μεταχείρισις ποιήσεώς τε καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ τοῖς μέτροις, οὑτωσὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐννοήμασι διενήνοχεν ταῦτα, τοῦτον ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον προσφόρως μεταχειρίσασθαι, εἰ ἐν μὲν τῷ προοιμίῳ εὐθὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπισημαίνοιο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾄδουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεναίου τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὑπ᾽ αὐλοῖς ἢ πηκτίσιν ἢ νὴ Δία καλλιφωνίᾳ τινὶ τοιαύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἐπαίνοις καὶ ὕμνοις τῶν γεγαμηκότων.

But before the speech celebrating birth (for it almost eluded me because of the confusion and disorder concerning the ending) comes the speech held before the bridal chamber. It would be the very next to and following the wedding speeches, being almost one and the same with the wedding speech, except that the time is different, since this speech is held when the wedding has been fulfilled. For it is not at all unfitting for the other occasions already mentioned, even as it is accompanying the wedding instead of the bridal song. For also in Sappho there are some examples of this form, registered in this way as bridal songs, but although the handling of poetry and prose is not the same, even so, just as with the metres, when these things differ by subject matter, you would seem to handle this mode and speech suitably if you would indicate straight away in the opening exactly this, that others are singing the bridal song, while we instead of the bridal song hold a speech, not to pipes or harps, or by Zeus, to any such beautiful sound, but to praise and hymns for the wedded.

BC 43–*c.*AD 18

Ovid

***Heroides* 15, From Sappho to Phaon, an elegiac letter of a total of 220 lines, see Chapter 12, 13, and the index for further references to this poem throughout the volume**.

- The name of Sappho
- Lyrical forms versus elegiac couplets
- Phaon
- Aetna
- Pyrrha (Lesbian city)
- Methymna
- Anactorie
- Gyrinno
- Atthis
- Apollo
- Bacchus
- Daphne
- Cnosida = Ariadne
- Muses
- Alcaeus
- Perseus
- Andromeda
- Venus
- Charaxus
- Thalea
- Cephalus
- Aurora
- Mars
- Philomela

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
		– Procne – Itys – A naiade – Leucas – Deucalion – Pyrrha (mythological figure) – Cupid
	***Ars amatoria*, *The Art of Love*, 3.329–32 (Kenney (1994), p. 198)**	– Callimachus
	sit tibi Callimachi, sit Coi nota poetae, sit quoque uinosi Teia Musa senis; nota sit et Sappho (quid enim lasciuius illa?) cuiue pater uafri luditur arte Getae.	– Anacreon – Lascivious Sappho – Menander
	Let the Muse of Callimachus and of the Coan bard be known to you, and the old wine-loving Teian's strains; let Sappho too be known (for what is more lascivious than she?), or he whose father is deceived by the crafty Geta's cunning.	
	***Remedia amoris*, *The Remedies for Love*, 757–62 (Kenney (1994), p. 258)**	– Callimachus – Philitas – 'Sappho, the teacher of love' – Anacreon
	eloquar inuitus: teneros ne tange poetas; summoueo dotes impius ipse meas. Callimachum fugito: non est inimicus amori: et cum Callimacho tu quoque, Coe, noces. me certe Sappho meliorem fecit amicae, nec rigidos mores Teia Musa dedit.	
	Unwillingly I will speak: touch not the poets of love; treacherously I remove my own gifts from you. Avoid Callimachus: he is no enemy to love; you, too,	

O Coan, with Callimachus, do harm. Me certainly did Sappho make better for my girlfriend, nor did the Muse of Teos teach me strictness.

***Tristia*, 2.361–6 (Owen (1915), *ad loc.*)**

- Anacreon
- 'Sappho, the lover of girls'

denique composui teneros non solus amores:
  composito poenas solus amore dedi.
quid, nisi cum multo Venerem confundere uino
  praecepit lyrici Teïa Musa senis?
Lesbia quid docuit Sappho, nisi amare, puellas?
  tuta tamen Sappho, tutus et ille fuit.

Moreover, not I alone have written tales of tender love, but for writing of love I alone have been punished. What but the union of love and much wine was the teaching of the lyric muse of the aged Teian bard? What did Lesbian Sappho teach the girls if not love/if not to love girls? Yet Sappho was safe from harm, the Teian also was safe.

***Tristia*, 3.7.19–20 (Owen (1915), *ad loc.*)**

- Fire in the breast
- The bard of Lesbos (= Sappho)
- Compared to Perilla

ergo si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem,
  sola tuum uates Lesbia uincet opus.

So if the same fire still remains in your breast, only the Lesbian bard will surpass your work.

BC/AD first century

Antipater of Thessalonica
From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.26 (Beckby (1957-8), vol. 3, p. 26)

- Helicon
- Pieria
- Praxilla
- Moero
- Anyte
- Homer
- Sappho

Τάσδε θεογλώσσους Ἑλικὼν ἔθρεψε γυναῖκας
  ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδὼν Πιερίας σκόπελος,
Πρήξιλλαν, Μοιρώ, Ἀνύτης στόμα, θῆλυν Ὅμηρον,
  Λεσβιάδων Σαπφὼ κόσμον ἐυπλοκάμων,

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	Ἤρινναν, Τελέσιλλαν ἀγακλέα καὶ σέ, Κόρινα, *θοῦριν Ἀθηναίης ἀσπίδα μελψαμέναν,* *Νοσσίδα θηλύγλωσσον ἰδὲ γλυκυαχέα Μύρτιν,* *πάσας ἀενάων ἐργάτιδας σελίδων.* *ἐννέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανός, ἐννέα δ' αὐτὰς* *Γαῖα τέκεν θνατοῖς ἄφθιτον εὐφροσύναν.* These are the divine-voiced women that Helicon fed with song, Helicon and Macedonian Pieria's rock: Praxilla; Moero; Anyte, the female Homer; Sappho, glory of the Lesbian women with lovely tresses; Erinna; renowned Telesilla; and you, Corinna, who did sing the martial shield of Athena; Nossis, the tender-voiced, and dulcet-toned Myrtis—all craftswomen of eternal pages. Great Heaven gave birth to nine Muses, and Earth to these nine as deathless delight to mortals.	– Erinna – Telesilla – Corinna – Athena – Nossis – Myrtis – Divine Muses – Human Muses
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.189 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 118) *Ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,* *Λεσβίδες, ἁβρὰ ποδῶν βήματ' ἐλισσόμεναι·* *ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇ χορόν· ὔμμι δ' ἀπάρξει* *Σαπφὼ χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.* *ὄλβιαι ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἦ γλυκὺν ὕμνον* *εἰσαΐειν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.* Women of Lesbos, come here, whirling as you step delicately, to the splendid sanctuary of bull-faced Hera, there to dance a lovely measure to the goddess;	– Hera – Lyre – Dance – Sappho as Calliope

and for you Sappho, holding her golden lyre, shall strike up the tune. You are blessed, indeed, in that dance's delight; truly you shall deem that you listen to the sweet hymning of Calliope herself.

AD first century

Caesius Bassus
***De metris—On Metres*, fr. 6.79–83 (Mazzarino (1955) *ad loc.*)**

– The Phalaecean hendecasyllabic
– Sappho Book 5

uenio nunc ad hendecasyllabon phalaecium, qui ex simili causa, ut plerique, a cultore sue, non inuentore, nomen accepit. nam hic uersus apud Sappho frequens est, cuius in quinto libro complures huius generis et continuati et dispersi leguntur.

I now come to the Phalaecean hendecasyllable, which for similar reasons as for many metres, has received its name from its cultivator, not from its inventor, for this metre is often found in Sappho, by whom many lines of this type, both in succession and scattered, are collected in her fifth book.

***De metris*, *On Metres*, fr. 6.155–9 (Mazzarino (1955) *ad loc.*)**

– The hendecasyllabic
– Catullus
– Anacreon
– The Priapean metre

quae omnia genera hendecasyllabi Catullus et Sappho et Anacreonta et alios auctores secutus non tamquam uitiosa uitauit, sed tamquam legitima inseruit. ex quibus quoniam priapeus nascitur, necesse est easdem habeat uarietates.

Catullus did not avoid all kinds of the hendecasyllable, following Sappho, Anacreon and other authors, as if they were blameworthy, but he inserted them as if they were fully sanctioned. Since the priapeus arises from these, it is necessary that it has precisely these variations.

***De metris*, *On Metres*, fr. 6.241–5 (Mazzarino (1955) *ad loc.*)**

– Bacchic hexameter
– Philicus, the poet
– Archebulus, the poet
– Alcaeus
– Sappho

frugiferae sacra deae quae colitis mystica iunctaeque Ioui nefasto.
hunc hexametrum ex numero bacchico composuit Philicus, quo usus est etiam Archebulus, de quo auctore supra rettuli; clusit autem antibaccheo. numerus hic frequens est apud lyricos et praecipue apud Alcaeum, Sappho, Anacreonta.

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	You worship the sacred things of the harvest-bearing goddess, which are mystical and joined with the unholy Jove. This hexameter did Philicus compose of the bacchic metre, which also Archebulus uses, the author I referred to above; but he closed it with an antibacchean. This metre occurs frequently in the lyric poets and especially Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon.	– Anacreon
	***De metris*, *On Metres*, fr. 6.321–5 (Mazzarino (1955) *ad loc.*)** hoc metrum [i.e. hendecasyllabus sapphicus/phalaecius] tria cola habet paria, quartum breuem clausulam. sumptum est ab Alcaeo; Sappho quoque frequenter eo utitur. This metre [that is the Sapphic/Phalaecian Hendecasyllable] has three sections, and a fourth short closing line. It has been employed by Alcaeus; Sappho too uses this frequently.	– Sapphic hendecasyllabic (= Sapphic stanza) – Phaelacian hendecasyllabic – Alcaeus
AD first century	**[Longinus]** ***De sublimitate*, *On the Sublime*, 10.1–4 (Fyfe rev. Russell (1999), pp. 196–200)** *Φέρε νῦν, εἴ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἔχοιμεν ὑψηλοὺς ποιεῖν τοὺς λόγους δυνάμενον, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ πᾶσι τοῖς πράγμασι φύσει συνεδρεύει τινὰ μόρια ταῖς ὕλαις συνυπάρχοντα, ἐξ ἀνάγκης γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ὕψους αἴτιον τὸ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἐκλέγειν ἀεὶ τὰ καιριώτατα καὶ ταῦτα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐπισυνθέσει καθάπερ ἕν τι σῶμα ποιεῖν δύνασθαι· ὃ μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἐκλογῇ τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῶν λημμάτων, ὃ δὲ τῇ πυκνώσει τῶν ἐκλελεγμένων προσάγεται. οἷον ἡ Σαπφὼ τὰ*	– Sublime style – Ideas – Intensity – Emotions – Sappho's excellence – Combinations of feelings – Sappho fr. 31 Voigt

συμβαίνοντα ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς μανίαις παθήματα ἐκ τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἑκάστοτε λαμβάνει. ποῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδείκνυται; ὅτι τὰ ἄκρα αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερτεταμένα δεινὴ καὶ ἐκλέξαι καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα συνδῆσαι·

– Aristeas of Proconnesus, supposed author of *Arimaspeia*

<fr. 31, Voigt> (for the poem in Greek, see p. 68)

οὐ θαυμάζεις ὡς, ὑπ<ὸ τὸ> αὐτὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ σῶμα τὰς ἀκοὰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τὰς ὄψεις τὴν χρόαν, πάνθ' ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ καθ' ὑπεναντιώσεις ἅμα ψύχεται κάεται, ἀλογιστεῖ φρονεῖ [ἢ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἢ παρ' ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν] ἵνα μὴ ἔν τι περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος φαίνηται, παθῶν δὲ σύνοδος. πάντα μὲν τοιαῦτα γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας, ἡ λῆψις δ' ὡς ἔφην τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἡ εἰς ταὐτὸ συναίρεσις ἀπειργάσατο τὴν ἐξοχήν. ὅνπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειμώνων τρόπον ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκλαμβάνει τῶν παρακολουθούντων τὰ χαλεπώτατα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἀριμάσπεια ποιήσας ἐκεῖνα οἴεται δεινά . . .

Well, then, let us see whether we can find anything else that can make style sublime. Since with all things there are associated certain elements, inherent in their substance, it follows of necessity that we shall find one factor of sublimity in a consistently happy choice of these constituent elements, and in the power of combining them together as it were into an organic whole. The first procedure attracts the reader by the selection of ideas, the second by the density of those selected. Sappho, for instance, never fails to take the emotions incident to the passion of love from its attendant symptoms and from real life. And wherein does she show her excellence? In the skill with which she selects and combines the most striking and intense of those symptoms.

<fr. 31> (for a translation of the poem, see p. 68)

Is it not wonderful how she summons at the same time, soul, body, hearing, tongue, sight, skin, all as though they had wandered off apart from herself? She feels contradictory sensations, freezes, burns, raves, reasons, so that she displays not a single emotion, but a whole congeries of emotions. Lovers show all such

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	symptoms, but what gives supreme merit to her art is, as I said, the skill with which she takes up the most striking and combines them into a single whole. It is, I fancy, much in the same way that the poet in describing storms picks out the most alarming circumstances. The author of the *Arimaspeia*, to be sure, thinks these lines awe-inspiring . . .	
BC 4–AD 65	**Seneca the Younger** ***Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, *Epistles*, 88.37 (Reynolds (1965), p. 321)** Quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit: misererer, si tam multa superuacua legisset. In his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre uera, in his libidinosior Anacreon an ebriosior uixerit, in his an Sappho publica fuerit, et alia, quae erant dediscenda si scires. I nunc et longam esse uitam nega! Sed ad nostros quoque cum perueneris, ostendam multa securibus recidenda. Didymus the grammarian wrote four thousand books. I should feel pity for him if he had only *read* the same number of superfluous volumes. In these books he investigates Homer's native country, who was really the mother of Aeneas, whether Anacreon was more horny or more drunk, whether Sappho was a common prostitute, and other things, if you want to know it, that ought to be forgotten. Come on now: deny that life is long! However, when you come to consider our own authors, I can show you many works, which ought to be cut down with axes.	– Didymus – Homer's birthplace – Aeneas' mother – Anacreon's lust and alcoholism – Sappho's prostitution

AD 23–79	**Pliny the Elder** ***Naturalis historia*, *Natural History*, 22.20 (Mayhoff (1892), p. 446)** . . . portentosum est, quod de ea traditur, radicem eius alterutrius sexus similitudinem referre, raro inuento, sed si uiris contigerit mas, amabiles fieri; ob hoc et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho, multa circa hoc non Magorum solum uanitate, sed etiam Pythagoricorum. Marvellous is the characteristic reported of it, that its root grows into the likeness of the organs of one sex or the other; it is rarely so found, but should the male form come into the possession of men, they become lovable in the eyes of women. This, it is said, is how Phaon of Lesbos too won the love of Sappho, there being much idle trifling on this subject not only among the Magi but also among the Pythagoreans.	– Erynge, root with genitalia characteristics – Male roots make men attractive – Phaon used this root to attract Sappho – Magi – Pythagoreans
	***Naturalis historia*, *Natural History*, 35.141–2 (Mayhoff (1897), pp. 281–2)** Habron amicam et Concordiam pinxit et deorum simulacra, Leontiscus Aratum uictorem cum tropaeo, psaltriam, Leon Sappho, Nearchus Venerem inter Gratias et Cupidines, Herculem tristem insaniae paenitentia, Nealces Venerem . . . Habron painted a girlfriend and a 'Harmony' and figures of gods, Leontiscus an 'Aratus with the Trophies of Victory', and a 'Harpist Girl', Leon a 'Sappho', Nearchus 'Aphrodite among the Graces and the Cupids', and a 'Heracles in Sorrow Repenting his Madness', Nealces an 'Aphrodite'.	– Painters and their objects, among which Sappho portrayed by Leon
AD *c.*40–103	**Martial** ***Epigrammata*, *Epigrams*, 7.69.9–10 (Lindsay (1929), *ad loc.*)** Haec est illa tibi promissa Theophila, Cani, cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent. hanc sibi iure petat magni senis Atticus hortus, nec minus esse suam Stoica turba uelit.	– Canius – Theophila – Pantaenis – Sappho *amatrix* ('Sappho, the lover')

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	uiuet opus quodcumque per has emiseris aures; tam non femineum nec populare sapit. non tua Pantaenis nimium se praeferat illi, quamuis Pierio sit bene nota choro. carmina fingentem Sappho laudabat amatrix: castior haec et non doctior illa fuit. Canius, this is your promised bride, Theophila, whose mind is steeped in Cecropian riches. The Attic garden of the great ancient could rightfully claim her, nor less would the Stoic throng wish her theirs. Whatever work you send forth through her ears will live; so unwomanlike is her taste, so far removed from the common. Your Pantaenis would scarcely claim to be her superior, well known though she be to the Pierian choir. Sappho, the lover, loved her as she was composing her poems. Theophila is more pure and Sappho was not more accomplished.	
	***Epigrammata*, *Epigrams*, 10.35 (Lindsay (1929), *ad loc.*)** Omnes Sulpiciam legant puellae uni quae cupiunt uiro placere; omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti uni qui cupiunt placere nuptae. non haec Colchidos adserit furorem, diri prandia nec refert Thyestae; Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit: sed castos docet et probos amores, lusus, delicias facetiasque. cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit,	– Sulpicia – Medea – Thyestes – Scylla – Byblis – Egeria – Numa – Sappho as imaginary schoolmate and teacher – Phaon – Jupiter

nullam dixerit esse nequiorem, – Bacchus
nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem. – Apollo
Tales Egeriae iocos fuisse – Calenus
udo crediderim Numae sub antro.
hac condiscipula uel hac magistra
esses doctior et pudica, Sappho:
sed tecum pariter simulque uisam
durus Sulpiciam Phaon amaret.
frustra: namque ea nec Tonantis uxor
nec Bacchi nec Apollinis puella
erepto sibi uiueret Caleno.

Let all girls who wish to please one man read Sulpicia. Let all husbands who wish to please one bride read Sulpicia. She does not claim for subject the madness of the Colchian woman or retail the meal of dire Thyestes; as for Scylla and Byblis, she doesn't believe they ever existed. She tells of pure and lawful love, playful caprice and merriment. A good judge of her verses will say there was never a girl more roguish or more holy. Such, I could believe, were Egeria's jests in Numa's damp grotto. If she had been your co-pupil or your teacher, Sappho, you would have been more accomplished and you would have been chaste; but unkind Phaon would have loved Sulpicia, if he had seen her and you side by side—in vain, for she would not live as the Thunderer's spouse or Bacchus' girl or Apollo's, should Calenus be taken from her.

AD 40–90

Dioscorides
From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 7.407 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 240)

– Pieria
– Helicon
– Sappho as Muse
– Eresus
– Hymen Hymenaeus

Ἥδιστον φιλέουσι νέοις προσανάκλιμ' ἐρώτων,
Σαπφώ, σὺν Μούσαις, ἦ ῥά σε Πιερίη

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	ἢ Ἑλικὼν εὔκισσος ἴσα πνείουσαν ἐκείναις *κοσμεῖ, τὴν Ἐρέσῳ Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι·* *ἢ καὶ Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην* *σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἵσταθ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων.* *ἢ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ* *σύνθρηνος μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὁρῇς.* *πάντῃ, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα· σὰς γὰρ ἀοιδὰς* *ἀθανάτας ἔχομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας.* Sappho, you who most sweetly pillow the loves of young men, you Pieria or ivied Helicon truly honour together with the Muses; for your breath is like to theirs, you Muse of Aeolian Eresus. Either Hymen Hymenaeus bearing his bright torch stands with you over the bridal couch; or you look on the holy grove of the Blessed, mourning in company with Aphrodite the fair young son of Cinyras. Wherever you may be, I salute you, my queen, as divine, for we still deem your songs to be daughters of the gods.	– Epithalamia – Aphrodite – Lament for the son of Cinyras (= Adonis) – Sappho as master and godlike
AD 40/50–110/20	**Dio Chrysostom** ***Orationes*, *Discourses*, 2.28 (Cahoon (1932), p. 66)** *Οὐδὲ γὰρ μουσικήν, ἔφη, πᾶσαν μανθάνειν ἐθέλοιμ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ κιθάρᾳ μόνον ἢ λύρᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς θεῶν ὕμνους καὶ θεραπείας, ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπαίνους· οὐδέ γε ᾄδειν τὰ Σαπφοῦς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος ἐρωτικὰ μέλη πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλ', εἴπερ ἄρα, τῶν Στησιχόρου μελῶν τινα ἢ Πινδάρου, ἐὰν ᾖ τις ἀνάγκη. τυχὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἱκανὸς Ὅμηρος.*	– Kings – Political inappropriateness of Sappho's and Anacreon's songs

For I would not, he [Alexander] said, learn the whole art of music, but only to use the cithara or the lyre for hymns and worship of the gods, and even, I suppose, for the praise of good men. It would not at all be proper for kings to sing the love songs of Sappho or Anacreon, but rather one of the songs of Stesichorus or Pindar, if they had to sing. But perhaps Homer is all one needs for this too.

***Orationes*, *Discourses*, 37, *Corinthian Discourse* 46–7 (Crosby (1946), pp. 44–6)**

- Aristeas of Proconnesus
- Sappho
- Hesiod
- Fame
- Cf. Sappho fr. 147 Voigt, see the critical apparatus

ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔζη Ἀριστέης.
μνάσεσθαί τινά φαμι καὶ ὕστερον ἀμμέων.
πάνυ γὰρ καλῶς εἶπεν ἡ Σαπφώ· καὶ πολὺ κάλλιον Ἡσίοδος·
φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
πολλοὶ φημίξωσι· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

Aristeas, however, lived then, now and for all time.
'I suppose someone will remember me also afterwards',
Sappho put very beautifully, and Hesiod much more beautifully:

'No rumour reported by many people is completely destroyed. This, then, is also some kind of divine being.'

***Orationes*, *Discourses*, 64, *On Fortune* 2.2 (Crosby (1951), p. 46)**

- Rhodogune
- Semiramis
- Sappho, skilled in music and poetry
- Timandra
- Demonassa

ἤνεγκεν ὁ παλαιὸς βίος καὶ ἐνδόξους γυναῖκας, Ῥοδογούνην πολεμικήν, Σεμίραμιν βασιλικήν, Σαπφὼ μουσικήν, Τιμάνδραν καλήν· οὕτω καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ Δημώνασσα ἐγένετο, πολιτική τε ὁμοῦ γυνὴ καὶ νομοθετική.

The old world brought forth notable women as well: Rhodogune for warfare, Semiramis for ruling, Sappho for music and poetry, and Timandra for beauty. So in Cyprus too was born Demonassa, a woman skilled both in politics and lawmaking.

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AD *c.* 45–96	**Statius** ***Silvae*, 5.3.154–6 (Gibson (2006), p. 48)** . . . saltusque ingressa uiriles non formidata temeraria Leucade Sappho, quosque alios dignata chelys . . . . . . and rash Sappho, who feared not Leucas but took the manly leap, and others by the lyre approved.	– Leap of Leucas – Sappho's masculine qualities – Lyre
AD 50–120	**Plutarch** ***Moralia*, 81d–e, *De profectu in virtute*, *How a Man May Become Aware of his Progress in Virtue* (Babbitt (1927), vol. 1 *ad loc.*)** *τὸ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ τὴν τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν δόξαν οὐχ ἁρπάζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὡς πρότερον οὐδὲ προσγράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς ὑφ' ἑτέρου τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ φθάσας ἂν εὐφυὴς νέος εἴποι μετ' ἐρυθήματος, οὔ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐίσκεις; "νέας" μὲν γὰρ "γυναικός", ὡς Αἰσχύλος φησίν,* *"οὔ τι λανθάνει φλέγων* *ὀφθαλμός, ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ᾗ γεγευμένη."* *νέῳ δ' ἀνδρὶ γευσαμένῳ προκοπῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τὰ Σαπφικὰ ταυτὶ παρέπεται* *κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον δ'* *αὔτικα χρῷ πῦρ ὑποδεδρόμακεν,* *ἀθόρυβον δ' ὄψει καὶ πρᾶον ὄμμα, φθεγγομένου δ' ἂν ἀκοῦσαι ποθήσειας.* They do not arrogate to themselves, as before, the name of philosophy and the repute of studying it, or even give themselves the title of philosopher; in fact, a young man of good parts, on being addressed by this title by another, would be quick to say with a blush: 'I am no god, I assure you; why think me like the immortals?' For as Aeschylus puts it: 'The ardent eye betrays the youthful maid who once has tasted of the joys of love'; but with the young man who has had a	– Young men's study of philosophy – Aeschylus – Sappho fr. 31 Voigt

taste of real progress in philosophy, these words of Sappho are always associated: 'My tongue breaks down, and all at once a secret flame throughout my body runs'; nevertheless, you will see an eye untroubled and serene, and you would yearn to hear him speak.

Moralia*, 146a, *Coniugalia praecepta*, *Advice to Bride and Groom
(Babbitt (1928), vol. 2, *ad loc.*)

– Death
– Fame
– Roses of Pieria
– Cf. Sappho fr. 55 Voigt

Εἰ γὰρ ἡ Σαπφὼ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι καλλιγραφίαν ἐφρόνει τηλικοῦτον ὥστε γράψαι πρός τινα πλουσίαν,

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσεαι, οὐδέ τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσεται· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας,

πῶς οὐχί σοι μᾶλλον ἐξέσται μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ καὶ λαμπρόν, ἂν μὴ τῶν ῥόδων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν μετέχῃς, ὧν αἱ Μοῦσαι φέρουσι καὶ χαρίζονται τοῖς παιδείαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάζουσιν;

If Sappho thought that her beautiful compositions in verse justified her in writing to a certain rich woman, 'dead in the tomb shall you lie, nor shall there be thought of you there, for in the roses of Pierian fields you have no share', why shall it not be even more allowable for you to entertain high and splendid thoughts of yourself, if you have a share not only in the roses but also in the fruits which the Muses bring and graciously bestow upon those who admire education and philosophy?

Moralia*, 243b, *Mulierum virtutes*, *Virtues of Women
(Nachstädt (1935), *ad loc.*)

– Poetic art
– Prophetic art
– Anacreon
– Sibyl
– Bacis

τί δέ; ἐὰν ποιητικὴν πάλιν ἢ μαντικὴν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐχ ἑτέραν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑτέραν δὲ γυναικῶν οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτήν, τὰ Σαπφοῦς μέλη τοῖς Ἀνακρέοντος ἢ τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια τοῖς Βάκιδος ἀντιπαραβάλλωμεν, ἔξει τις αἰτιάσασθαι δικαίως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὅτι χαίροντα καὶ τερπόμενον ἐπάγει τῇ πίστει τὸν ἀκροατήν; οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποις.

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Or again, if we should declare that the poetic or the prophetic art is not one art when practised by men and another when practised by women, but the same, and if we should put the poems of Sappho side by side with those of Anacreon, or the oracles of the Sibyl with those of Bacis, will anybody have the power justly to impugn the demonstration because these lead on the hearer, joyous and delighted, to have belief in it? No, you could not say that either?	
	***Moralia*, 396f–397, *De Pythiae oraculis*, *The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse* (Sieveking (1929), vol. 3, *ad loc.*)** *Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων "νοσοῦμεν γάρ" εἶπεν "ὦ Βόηθε, καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, συνειθισμένοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ μαλακίαν τὰ ἡδίω καλὰ νομίζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. Τάχα δὴ μεμψόμεθα τὴν Πυθίαν, ὅτι Γλαύκης οὐ φθέγγεται τῆς κιθαρῳδοῦ λιγυρώτερον οὐδὲ χριομένη μύροις οὐδ' ἁλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ <χρηστήριον> οὐδ' ἐπιθυμιᾷ κασσίαν ἢ λήδανον ἢ λιβανωτὸν ἀλλὰ δάφνην καὶ κρίθινον ἄλευρον. οὐχ ὁρᾷς", εἶπεν, "ὅσην χάριν ἔχει τὰ Σαπφικὰ μέλη κηλοῦντα καὶ καταθέλγοντα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους"; "Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι" καθ' Ἡράκλειτον "ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν."* 'The fact is, Boëthus,' said Sarapion, 'that we are ailing both in ears and eyes, accustomed as we are, through luxury and soft living, to believe and to declare that the pleasanter things are fair and lovely. Before long we shall be finding fault with the prophetic priestess because she does not speak in purer tones than Glauce, who sings to the lyre, and because she is not perfumed and clad in purple when she goes down into the inner shrine, and does not burn upon the altar cassia or ladanum or frankincense, but only laurel and barley meal. Do you not see', he continued, 'what grace the songs of Sappho have, charming and	– Boëtius – Sarapion – Sappho's enthralling songs – The Sibyl's plain propheties – Glauce – Heraclaetius

bewitching all who listen to them? But the Sibyl 'with frenzied lips', as Heracleitus has it, 'uttering words mirthless, unembellished, unperfumed, yet reaches to a thousand years with her voice through the god'.

***Moralia*, 711d, *Quaestiones convivales*, *Table-Talk*, (Hubert (1938), *ad loc.*)**

- Plato
- Symposia
- Wine
- Anacreon

ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ πράγματος εἰσαγομένου δυσχεράναντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ καθαψάμενοι τῶν ἀξιούντων Πλάτωνα διαγωγὴν ἐν οἴνῳ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων ἐπὶ τραγήμασι καὶ μύροις ἀκούειν διαπίνοντας· ὅτε καὶ Σαπφοῦς ἂν ᾀδομένης καὶ τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος ἐγώ μοι δοκῶ καταθέσθαι τὸ ποτήριον αἰδούμενος.

We were the first to be disgusted when this movement was launched in Rome, and the first to attack those who thought fit to regard Plato as a bibulous pastime and to hear his dialogues rendered over their wine and dessert and perfume. Even when Sappho's poems are sung, or Anacreon's, I am moved to put down my cup respectfully.

***Moralia*, 751d, *Amatoriae narrationes*, *The Dialogue on Love* (Hubert (1938), vol. 4, *ad loc.*)**

- A girl unready for marriage
- Sappho fr. 49 Voigt

καὶ τὴν οὔπω γάμων ἔχουσαν ὥραν ἡ Σαπφὼ προσαγορεύουσά φησιν ὅτι "σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κἄχαρις".

And Sappho addressed a young girl not yet ripe for marriage:
'You seemed to me a small child without charm.'

***Moralia*, 762f –763a, *Amatoriae narrationes*, *The Dialogue on Love* (Hubert (1938), vol. 4, *ad loc.*)**

- Roman writers
- Cacus
- Hephaestus
- Sappho's fiery words
- Philoxenus
- Daphnaeus

Ἄξιον δὲ Σαπφοῦς παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις μνημονεῦσαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡφαίστου παῖδα Ῥωμαῖοι Κᾶκον ἱστοροῦσι πῦρ καὶ φλόγας ἀφιέναι διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἔξω ῥεούσας· αὕτη δ' ἀληθῶς μεμιγμένα πυρὶ φθέγγεται καὶ διὰ τῶν μελῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας θερμότητα "Μούσαις εὐφώνοις ἰωμένη τὸν ἔρωτα" κατὰ Φιλόξενον.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ <διὰ> Λυσάνδραν, ὦ Δαφναῖε, τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλέλησαι παιδικῶν, ἀνάμνησον ἡμᾶς, ἐν οἷς ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ λέγει τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐπιφανείσης τήν τε φωνὴν ἴσχεσθαι καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ὠχρότητα καὶ πλάνον αὐτὴν καὶ ἴλιγγον. Being, as we are, at the Muses' shrine, it is only right and proper to mention Sappho. Roman writers relate that Cacus, the son of Hephaestus, emitted torrents of fire and flame that poured from his mouth. In the same way Sappho speaks words mingled truly with fire; through her song she communicates the heat of her heart, 'With sweet-voiced Muses healing her love', as Philoxenus says. Now, Daphnaeus, if through the influence of Lysandra you have not completely forgotten your old loves, recite for us the ode in which the fair Sappho describes how her voice is lost and her body burns; how she turns pale, reels, and grows giddy when her beloved appears.	– Lysandra – Sapphic symptoms – Cf. Sappho fr. 31 Voigt
	***Vitae parallelae*, *Lives*, *Demetrius*, 38.3–5 (Ziegler (1971), vol. 3.1, *ad loc.*)** *Ἐρασίστρατον δὲ τὸν ἰατρὸν αἰσθέσθαι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐρῶντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ δ' οὕτινος ἐρᾷ δυστόπαστον ὂν ἐξανευρεῖν βουλόμενον ἀεὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ διημερεύειν, εἰ δέ τις εἰσίοι τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ μειρακίων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἐγκαθορᾶν τε τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὰ συμπάσχειν μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ τρεπομένῃ πεφυκότα μέρη καὶ κινήματα τοῦ σώματος ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὡς οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἰσιόντων ὁμοίως εἶχε, τῆς δὲ Στρατονίκης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σελεύκου φοιτώσης πολλάκις ἐγίνετο τὰ τῆς Σαπφοῦς ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπίσχεσις, ἐρύθημα πυρῶδες, ὄψεων ὑπολείψεις, ἱδρῶτες ὀξεῖς, ἀταξία καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τοῖς σφυγμοῖς, τέλος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένης ἀπορία καὶ θάμβος καὶ ὠχρίασις, ἐπὶ τούτοις προσλογιζόμενον τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρας ἐρῶν βασιλέως υἱὸς ἐνεκαρτέρει τῷ σιωπᾶν μέχρι θανάτου . . .*	– Erasistratus, the doctor – Antiochus – Stratonice – Sapphic symptoms – Sappho fr. 31 Voigt

But Erasistratus, his physician, perceived quite easily that he was in love, and wishing to discover who was the object of his passion (a matter not so easy to decide), he would spend day after day in the young man's chamber, and if any of the beauties of the court came in, male or female, he would study the countenance of Antiochus, and watch those parts and movements of his person which nature has made to sympathize most with the inclinations of the soul. Accordingly, when any one else came in, Antiochus showed no change; but whenever Stratonice came to see him, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, behold, those tell-tale signs of which Sappho sings were all there in him,—stammering speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision, sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul was taken by storm, helplessness, stupor, and pallor. And besides all this, Erasistratus reasoned further that in all probability the king's son, had he loved any other woman, would not have persisted to the death in refusing to speak about it . . .

Proverbs Used by the Alexandrians **(spurious) 1.32 (Schneidewin, von Leutsch (1839),** ***ad loc.*****)**

– Erotodidaxis (?)
– Leucadia

Μιχθοφορῶν: *αὕτη λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρασμίων διδάσκαλος καὶ ὑπερηφάνων, ὥς φασι καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ ἐρασθῆναι· μὴ φέρουσαν δὲ τὸ πάθος ῥῖψαι αὑτὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐν Λευκαδίᾳ πετρῶν.*

Michthophoron (Matchmaker?): This means a teacher for the affectionate and sumptuous, as when they say Sappho fell in love, and when she could not bear the longing she threw herself down from the cliffs in Leucadia.

AD *c.*70–*c.*160

Philon of Byblos

De diversis verborum significationibus **Alpha 33 (Palmeri (1988),** ***ad loc.*****)**

– Grammatical discussion of adverbs
– Sappho's error
– Sappho fr. 103

ἄρτι καὶ ἀρτίως διαφέρει. ἄρτι μὲν γάρ ἐστι χρονικὸν ἐπίρρημα, τὸ δὲ ἀρτίως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπηρτισμένου τελείου ἔργου, ὥστε ἁμαρτάνειν Σαπφὼ λέγουσαν "ἀρτίως ἡ

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	χρ[υσοπέδ]ι[λος] *Αὔως*", *ἀντὶ χρονικοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τὸ μὲν ἀρτίως σημαίνει πα[ρε]στώσης τῆς ὥρας, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι παρατατικὸν <καὶ ἐπὶ παρῳχηκότος χρόνου>.* *Arti* (just now) and *artiōs* (newly, here: completely) are different. For *arti* is an adverb of time, while *artiōs* is used for a fully completed action, so that Sappho makes an error when she says '*Artiōs* the golden sandaled Dawn . . .', instead of the temporal *arti*. But in Attic *artiōs* indicates the present tense, and *arti* the imperfect.	– Sappho fr. 123
Before CE second century	***P. Köln* II 61 *(Pap. Colon.* inv. 5860)** ***Fragments of a Sappho Commentary* (Gronewald (1974), pp. 115–16)** ***Fr. I*** [. .]. .υ.χ[[. . .]. ο μεν φυ[γ [. .]. . . . .[πρᾳ. .[. .].[.].[. μει] ζοσιν ἐχθραις τ[οις] κρατουσιν ᾳ.ει π̣[ολε] μων· η δ εφ ησυχιας παιδενουσα τας αρι[[σ]] ᾽σ΄ τασ ου μονον των εν\γ/χωριων αλλα και των απ Ιο\ω/νιας· και εν τοσαυτηι παρα- τοις πολ[[ε]]ιταις αποδο χη΄ι΄ως γ εφη Καλλιας ο Μυτιληναιος εν-	– Comparison between Sappho and Alcaeus – Sappho as teacher of women – Women of Sappho's country – Women of Ionia – Sappho as favoured by women – Callias of Mytilene – Aphrodite

. . .[. . .].[. .] *Αφροδει*
[*τ*].*ρ*[. .]

. . . he, on the one hand, . . . exile . . . was always quarreling very fiercely with the rulers. She, on the other hand, was calm and was teaching the most noble girls, not only of her own country, but also of Ionia. And she was favoured by the citizen women to such a degree, according to Callias of Mytilene in . . . (pursuit?) . . . Aphrodite . . .

AD second century

Hephaestion

***Enchiridion*, *Handbook on Metres*, 7.7 (Consbruch (1906), p. 23)**

– Aeolic dactylic verse
– The Sapphic fourteen syllable
– Sappho Book 2

Τῶν δὲ ἀκαταλήκτων τὸ μὲν πεντάμετρον καλεῖται Σαπφικὸν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ δεύτερον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται.

Among the acatalectic types (of Aeolic dactylic verse) the pentameter is called the Sapphic 14-syllable, in which the whole of Sappho Book 2 is written.

***Enchiridion*, *Handbook on Metres*, 9.5 (Consbruch (1906), p. 34)**

– Antispastic metre
– Sappho Book 7

ἔστι δὲ πυκνὸν καὶ τὸ τὴν δευτέραν μόνην ἀντισπαστικὴν ἔχον, ᾧ μέτρῳ ἔγραψεν ᾄσματα καὶ Σαπφὼ ἐπὶ † τῆς τοῦ ἑβδόμου.

Common also is the one (antispastic tetrameter catalectic) which has only its second unit antispastic, a metre in which Sappho wrote songs at the end of (or 'in') her seventh book.

***Enchiridion*, *Handbook on Metres*, 9.6 (Consbruch (1906), p. 34)**

– The Sapphic sixteen syllable
– Sappho Book 3
– Alcaeus

Τὸ δὲ ἀκατάληκτον καλεῖται Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ τρίτον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαίου.

The acatalectic (tetrameter form of antispastic) is called the Sapphic 16-syllable. The whole of Book 3 of Sappho is written in this metre and many songs of Alcaeus too.

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***De poemate*, *On Poem*, 1.1 (Consbruch (1906), p. 63)** *Σύστημα δέ ἐστι μέτρων συναγωγή, ἤτοι δύο ἢ πλειόνων, ἢ ὁμοίων ἢ ἀνομοίων· ἀνομοίων μέν, ὡς τὰ ἐλεγεῖα [ἑξαμέτρου γάρ ἐστι πρὸς πεντάμετρον κοινωνία·] καὶ οἱ ἐπῳδοί· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ὁμοίων, ὡς τὸ δεύτερον Σαπφοῦς, ὡς προϊόντες δείξομεν. Ὄντων δὴ τούτων τῶν ἀνωτάτω γενῶν, κατὰ τὴν τούτων μεῖξιν ὑφίσταται τά τε μεικτὰ γενικὰ προσαγορευόμενα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ [συστηματικά]. Καὶ μικτὰ μὲν γενικά, ὡς αἱ τραγῳδίαι καὶ αἱ παλαιαὶ κωμῳδίαι· μέρος μὲν γὰρ τούτων γέγραπται κατὰ στίχον, μέρος δὲ κατὰ σύστημα. Κοινὰ δὲ [συστηματικά], ἅπερ καὶ ὁ κατὰ στίχον γεγράφθαι φάσκων ὑγιῶς ἂν λέγοι καὶ ὁ κατὰ σύστημα, ὡς τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον Σαπφοῦς. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις κατὰ δύο ὁρᾶν παραγεγραμμένον ἕκαστον ᾆσμα, καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν εὑρίσκεσθαι ἀριθμοῦ περιττοῦ, κατὰ συστήματα νομίζομεν αὐτὰ γεγράφθαι· πάλιν δέ, τῷ ὅμοιον ἑκάτερον εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ δυάδι στίχων, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι τὴν ποιήτριαν κατὰ τύχην τινὰ ἀρτίου πάντα ἀριθμοῦ πεποιηκέναι, φαίη τις ἂν κατὰ στίχον αὐτὰ γεγράφθαι.* A *system* is a combination of metres, either of two or more; either of like or unlike: of unlike, as the elegies [for in these there is a union of a hexameter with a pentameter] and the epodes. That which is of like metres, as the second book of Sappho, we will explain as we proceed. Now these being the two primary types, by their mixture are those denominated the *mixed types* and *regular* [*systems*]. The *mixed types* are such as the tragedies and the old comedies: for a part of these is written *by line*, and a part *by system*. But the *regular systems* are such that both he who should say that they are written *by line*, would speak correctly, and likewise he who should say that they are written *by system*; as the second and third book of Sappho. For because, in the ancient copies, we see in	– Metres – Elegy – Sappho Book 2 – Sappho Book 3 – Mixed types of metres – Common systems of metres – Tragedies – Old comedies

each song a distinction of couplets, and likewise never find any odd number of lines, we deem them to be written *by system*. And again, from the lines in the couplet being similar to each other, and its being possible that it was by some chance that the poetess made all her songs of an even number of lines, one might say that they were written *by line*.

AD second century

Hermogenes of Tarsus
***Peri ideon*, *On Kinds of Style*, 2.4.38–46 (Rabe (2013), *ad loc.*)**

– *Locus aemonus*
– Cf. Sappho fr. 2 Voigt

καὶ τὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχρὰς ἔστιν ἁπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἷον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφόρους καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὄψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὁρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ, ὅτε ἐξαγγέλλει τις, ὥσπερ ἡ Σαπφὼ "ἀμφὶ δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν κελαδεῖ δι' ὔσδων μαλίνων" καὶ "αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων κῶμα καταρρεῖ" καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τούτων τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴρηται.

It is possible to describe in simple terms pleasures which are not base, the beauty of a place, for example, the variety of plant-life, the diversity of streams, and so on. These things afford pleasure to the eye when seen and to the ear when spoken about. Compare Sappho: 'And round about cold water babbles through apple-branches' and 'from the shimmering leaves the sleep of enchantment flows down' and all that comes before and after this.

***Peri ideon*, *On Kinds of Style*, 2.4.100–6 (Rabe (2013), *ad loc.*)**

– Deliberation
– Sweetness
– Lyre
– Sappho fr. 118 Voigt

ἡμεῖς μέντοι τοῦτο, ὅ τί ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, συγχωροῦντες εἶναι, τοσοῦτον διοριζόμεθα, ὅτι καθόλου τὸ περιτιθέναι τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις προαιρετικόν τι γλυκύτητα ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ ἔν τε τῷ προειρημένῳ δηλοῦται καὶ ὅταν τὴν λύραν ἐρωτᾷ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ὅταν αὐτὴ ἀποκρίνηται, οἷον "ἄγε χέλυ δῖά μοι λέγε, φωνάεσσα δὲ γίνεο" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

So then, we establish so much that we agree on this, whatever it may be, that on the whole, to bestow deliberation on that which cannot deliberate creates a somewhat sweet effect, as has been demonstrated in what has been said before,

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	and as when Sappho asks her lyre a question and it itself answers, e.g. 'Come, divine lyre, speak to me and find yourself a voice', and the following verses.	
AD second century	**Maximus of Tyre** ***Oratio*, *Oration*, 18.7, *Socratic Love* 1 (Trapp (1994), p. 158)** *. . . οὐκ ἴδιον Σωκράτους τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἀλλὰ μακρῷ πρεσβύτερον. μάρτυρα δὲ αὐτὸν Σωκράτην παραστησώμεθα, ἐπαινοῦντα μὲν τὸ ἔργον καὶ θαυμάζοντα, ἐξαρνούμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν εὕρεσιν. ἐπιδειξαμένου γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦ Μυρρινουσίου Φαίδρου λόγον ὑπὸ Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου συγγεγραμμένον ἐρωτικόν, οὐκ ἔφη θαυμάζειν, πλῆρες τὸ στῆθος ἔχων ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον ἀλλοτρίων ναμάτων, ἤ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς—οὕτω γὰρ αὐτήν ὀνομάζων χαίρει διὰ τὴν ὥραν τῶν μελῶν, καίτοι μικρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μέλαιναν—ἤ Ἀνακρέοντος, φησίν, τοῦ σοφοῦ. τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ λόγον, εἰς ἔρωτα ἔπαινον, Μαντινικῇ γυναικὶ ἀνατίθησιν· ἀλλὰ εἴτε Μαντινικὴ εἴτε καὶ Λεσβία τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ λόγου μήτηρ, πάντως γε οὐκ ἴδιοι οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐρωτικοὶ λόγοι οὐδὲ πρώτου . . .* . . . Interest in amatory topics is by no means unique to Socrates, but far, far older: witness Socrates himself, praising and expressing his admiration for such interests, but denying that he was their inventor. When Phaedrus of Myrrhene gave him a performance of the amatory discourse composed by Lysias son of Cephalus, he claimed that he was not at all surprised to find his breast filled like a pitcher with streams of foreign water, perhaps from the fair Sappho (so he is pleased to call her because of the beauty of her poetry, although she herself was short and swarthy), or perhaps, as he says, from the wise Anacreon. His speech in praise of Love at the symposium he attributes to a woman of Mantinea. But whether the mother of the theory was a Mantinean or a Lesbian, it is at any rate quite clear that Socrates' discussions of Love are not unique to him and do not begin with him either . . .	– Sappho as Socrates' predecessor – Phaedrus – Myrrhene – Lysias – Anacreon – Woman of Mantinea = Diotima

***Oratio*, *Oration*, 18.9, *Socratic Love* 1 (Trapp (1994), pp. 160–2)**

. . . ὁ δὲ τῆς Λεσβίας—εἴ τοι χρὴ πρεσβύτερα τοῖς νέοις εἰκάσαι—τί ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἢ αὐτὸ ἡ Σωκράτους τέχνη ἐρωτική; δοκοῦσιν γάρ μοι τὴν καθ' αὑτὸν ἑκάτερος φιλίαν, ἡ μὲν γυναικῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀρρένων, ἐπιτηδεῦσαι. καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ἐρᾶν ἔλεγον, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἁλίσκεσθαι τῶν καλῶν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἐκείνῳ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Χαρμίδης καὶ Φαῖδρος, τοῦτο τῇ Λεσβίᾳ Γύριννα καὶ Ἀτθὶς <καὶ> Ἀνακτορία· καὶ ὅτιπερ Σωκράτει οἱ ἀντίτεχνοι, Πρόδικος καὶ Γοργίας καὶ Θρασύμαχος καὶ Πρωταγόρας, τοῦτο τῇ Σαπφοῖ Γοργὼ καὶ Ἀνδρομέδα· νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ ταύταις, νῦν δὲ ἐλέγχει, καὶ εἰρωνεύεται αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ

Σωκράτους·

τὸν Ἴωνα χαίρειν

φησὶν ὁ Σωκράτης·

πολλά μοι τὰν

Πωλυανάκτιδα παῖδα χαίρην,

Σαπφὼ λέγει. οὐ προσιέναι φησὶν ὁ Σωκράτης Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐρῶν, πρὶν ἡγήσατο ἱκανὸν εἶναι πρὸς λόγους·

σμικρά μοι πάϊς ἔτι φαίνεο κἄχαρις

Σαπφὼ λέγει. κωμῳδεῖ σχῆμά που καὶ κατάκλισιν σοφιστοῦ, καὶ αὖτη

τίς δὲ . . . ἀγροῖωτιν ἐπεμμένα στόλαν . . .

τὸν ἔρωτά φησιν ἡ Διοτίμα τῷ Σωκράτει οὐ παῖδα, ἀλλὰ ἀκόλουθον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ θεράποντα εἶναι· λέγει που καὶ Σαπφοῖ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν ᾄσματι,

σύ τε κἄμος θεράπων Ἔρως.

ἡ Διοτίμα λέγει, ὅτι θάλλει μὲν ἔρως εὐπορῶν, ἀποθνήσκει δὲ ἀπορῶν· τοῦτο ἐκείνη ξυλλαβοῦσα εἶπεν γλυκύπικρον καὶ ἀλγεσίδωρον. τὸν ἔρωτα Σωκράτης σοφιστὴν λέγει, Σαπφὼ μυθοπλόκον. ἐκβακχεύεται ἐπὶ Φαίδρῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, τῇ δὲ ὁ ἔρως ἐτίναξεν τὰς φρένας,

ὡς ἄνεμος κατ' ὄρος δρυσὶν ἐμπέτων.

ἄχθεται τῇ Ξανθίππῃ ὀδυρομένῃ ὅτι ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ δὲ τῇ θυγατρί·

– Alcibiades
– Charmides
– Gyrinna
– Atthis
– Anactoria
– Prodicus
– Gorgias
– Andromeda
– Gorgo
– Ion
– Polynax
– Alcibiades
– Love
– Aphrodite
– Bittersweet
– Xanthippe
– The Muses' servants
– Death-defying fame
– Sappho fr. 49 Voigt
– Partly Sappho fr. 57 Voigt
– Sappho fr. 159 Voigt
– Sappho fr. 47 Voigt
– Sappho fr. 150 Voigt
– Sappho fr. 155 Voigt

(*continued*)

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οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μουσοπόλων † οἰκίᾳ †
θρῆνον ἔμμεν᾽· οὔ κ᾽ ἄμμι πρέποι τάδε.

. . . But is not the love of the Lesbian poetess (if one can indeed compare the older with more recent) in fact identical with Socrates' amatory art? It seems to me that each of them pursued a particular kind of affection, for women in the one case and men in the other. Both claimed to have many beloveds, and to be captivated by anyone who was beautiful. What Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus were to Socrates, Gyrinna, Atthis, and Anactoria were to the poetess of Lesbos. What his rival professionals Prodicus and Gorgias and Thrasymachus and Protagoras were to Socrates, Gorgo and Andromeda were to Sappho. At one moment you find her reproaching them, at another defeating them in argument and practising a positively Socratic irony. 'Hello Ion,' says Socrates 'My warmest greetings to the daughter of the house of Polynax' says Sappho. Socrates says that he did not introduce himself to Alcibiades, though he had long admired him, until he thought that he was old enough for serious discussion; 'You seemed to me still a little, graceless child' says Sappho. He made sport of the sophist's appearance and manner of reclining; she too speaks of 'Some woman clothed in a rustic dress'. Diotima tells Socrates that love is no child, but an attendant and a servant of Aphrodite; and Sappho too makes Aphrodite speak in one of her poems of 'You and my servant love'. Diotima says that love flourishes at times of abundance and dies at times of scarcity; this same point is epitomized by Sappho in her 'bittersweet' and 'giver of painful gifts'. Socrates called love a 'sophist', Sappho a 'weaver of tales'. Phaedrus drives Socrates into a 'bacchic frenzy' of love; for Sappho, love 'Shook my wits, Like the wind in the mountains falling among oak trees'. Socrates upbraids Xanthippe for lamenting over his death; Sappho instructs her daughter that 'It is not right for there to be lamentation in the house of the Muses' servants; this would not be seemly for us.'

AD second century

Pinytus
From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 7.16 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 2, p. 22)

Ὀστέα μὲν καὶ κωφὸν ἔχει τάφος οὔνομα Σαπφοῦς·
αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ κείνης ῥήσιες ἀθάνατοι.

The tomb holds the bones and the dumb name of Sappho, but her skilled words are immortal.

– Sappho's death-defying fame

AD second century

Julius Pollux
***Onomasticon* 9.84 (Bethe (1931), vol. 2, p. 171)**

οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώσει τις ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ Μιτυληναῖοι μὲν Σαπφὼ τῷ νομίσματι ἐνεχαράξαντο, Χῖοι δὲ Ὅμηρον, Ἰασεῖς δὲ παῖδα δελφῖνι ἐποχούμενον, Δαρδανεῖς δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνων μάχην . . .

For is it not required that we inquire into the present matter, if the Mytileneans impressed Sappho on their coinage, the Chians Homer, those from Iasus a boy riding a dolphin, the Dardanians a cockfight . . .

– Mytilenean coins with Sappho's image
– Chian coins with Homer's image
– Coins from the people of Jasus with a dolphin-riding boy's image
– Dardanian coins with a cockfight's image

AD 117–81

Aelius Aristides
***Oratio*, *Oration 49*, *Concerning a Remark in Passing*, 377.23–7 (Dindorf (1829), vol. 2, *ad loc.*)**

οἶμαι δέ σε καὶ Σαπφοῦς ἀκηκοέναι πρός τινας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων δοκουσῶν εἶναι γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῷ ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν καὶ ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἀποθανούσης ἔσται λήθη.

I think that even you have read Sappho, where boasting to some of those women who seem to be fortunate she says that the Muses have made her truly rich and enviable, and that even after her death she would not be forgotten.

– The riches of the Muses
– Sappho's death-defying fame
– Cf. Sappho fr. 55 Voigt

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Oratio*, *Oration* 12, *Funeral Address in Honour of Alexander*, 85.26–32 (Dindorf (1829), vol. 1, *ad loc.*)** *Καὶ μὴν εἰ Ὅμηρον Σμυρναίοις παρασχέσθαι καὶ Παρίοις Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Βοιωτοῖς Ἡσίοδον καὶ Κείοις δὴ Σιμωνίδην καὶ Στησίχορον Ἱμεραίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις Πίνδαρον καὶ Μυτιληναίοις Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀλκαῖον καὶ ἑτέροις ἑτέρους τινὰς φέρει φιλοτιμίαν, τὰς γὰρ Ἀθήνας ἐῶ τὰ νῦν, ἥ που καὶ ὑμᾶς μέγα φρονεῖν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τούτους ἅπαντας κοσμήσαντι καὶ δείξαντι.* Indeed, if the Smyrnaeans are proud of having given Homer to the world, and the Parians because of Archilochus, and the Boeotians because of Hesiod, and the Ceans because of Simonides, and the Himerians because of Stesichorus, and the Thebans because of Pindar, and the Mytilenaeans because of Sappho and Alcaeus, and other people because of various other authors—for I now omit Athens, indeed, it is likely that you are very proud of the man who adorned and explicated all of these.	– Homer – Archilochus – Hesiod – Simonides – Stesichorus – Pindar – Sappho – Alcaeus
AD floruit 150	**Pausanias** ***Graeciae descriptio*, *Description of Greece*, 1.25.1, *Attica* (Spiro (1903), *ad loc.*)** *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριὰς ἑτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἕστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας· καί οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ᾄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου.*	– Pericles – Xanthippus – Perians – Mycale – Anacreon, represented as drunk, compared to

On the Athenian acropolis there are statues of Pericles and his father Xanthippus, who fought the Persians in the naval engagement off Mycale. But Pericles' statue is on one side, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to make love his main theme. The statue represents him as a man singing when he is drunk.

Sappho for his love songs
– Sappho, the first to make love the main theme of her songs

***Graeciae descriptio*, *Description of Greece*, 9.29.8, *Boeotia* (Spiro (1903), *ad loc.*)**

Πάμφως δέ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους Οἰτόλινον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτολίνου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα Ἄδωνιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Οἰτόλινον ᾖσεν

Pamphos, who composed the oldest Athenian hymns, called him Oetolinus ('Linus doomed') at the time when the mourning for Linus was at its height. Sappho of Lesbos, who learnt the name of Oetolinus from the epic poetry of Pamphos, sang of both Adonis and Oetolinus together.

– Pamphos
– Oetolinus (song)
– Linus
– Sappho's song of both Oetolinus and Adonis

AD *c.*125–80

Aulus Gellius
***Noctes Atticae*, *Attic Nights*, 19.9.4–5 (Marshall (1990), p. 573)**

Ac posteaquam introducti pueri puellaeque sunt, iucundum in modum *Ἀνακρεόντεια* pleraque et Sapphica et poetarum quoque recentium *ἐλεγεῖα* quaedam erotica dulcia et venusta cecinerunt.

And when the boys and girls were brought in, they sang in a most charming way several odes of Anacreon and Sappho, as well as some erotic elegies of more recent poets that were sweet and graceful.

– Anacreon's odes
– Sappho's odes
– Elegies of more recent poets

***Noctes Atticae*, *Attic Nights*, 20.7.1–2 (Marshall (1990), p. 598)**

Mira et prope adeo ridicula diuersitas fabulae apud Graecos poetas deprenditur super numero Niobae filiorum. Nam Homerus pueros puellasque eius bis senos

– The number of Niobe's children
– Homer

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	dicit fuisse, Euripides bis septenos, Sappho bis nouenos, Bacchylides et Pindarus bis denos, quidam alii scriptores tres fuisse solos dixerunt. A strange and indeed almost absurd variation is to be noted in the Greek poets as to the number of Niobe's children. For Homer says that she had six sons and six daughters; Euripides, seven of each; Sappho, nine; Bacchylides and Pindar, ten; while certain other writers have said that there were only three sons and three daughters.	– Euripides – Sappho – Bacchylides – Pindar
AD 125–80	**Lucian** ***De mercede conductis*, *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses*, 36.1–9 (Harmon (1921), vol. 3, *ad loc.*)** *Καίτοι φορητὰ ἴσως τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. αἱ δὲ οὖν γυναῖκες—καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τόδε ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν σπουδάζεται, τὸ εἶναί τινας αὐταῖς πεπαιδευμένους μισθοῦ ὑποτελεῖς συνόντας καὶ τῷ φορείῳ ἑπομένους· ἓν γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων καλλωπισμάτων αὐταῖς δοκεῖ, ἢν λέγηται ὡς πεπαιδευμέναι τέ εἰσιν καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ᾄσματα οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαπφοῦς ἀποδέοντα.* After all, one could perhaps put up with the conduct of the men. But the women—! That is another thing that the women are keen about—to have men of education living in their households on a salary and following their litters. They count it as one among their other embellishments if it is said that they are cultured and have an interest in philosophy and write songs not much inferior to Sappho's.	– Amateur women comparing themselves to Sappho
	***Imagines*, *Essays in Portraiture*, 18.1–7 (Harmon (1925), vol. 4, *ad loc.*)** *Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον παράδειγμα Θεανώ τε ἐκείνη καὶ ἡ Λεσβία μελοποιός, καὶ Διοτίμα ἐπὶ ταύταις, ἡ μὲν τὸ μεγαλόνουν ἡ Θεανὼ συμβαλλομένη εἰς τὴν γραφήν,*	– Theano – Sappho as Lesbian songmaker

ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ τὸ γλαφυρὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως· τῇ Διοτίμᾳ δὲ οὐχ ἃ Σωκράτης ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτὴν ἐοικυῖα ἔσται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνεσίν τε καὶ συμβουλίαν.

The second model and the third shall be the famous Theano and the Lesbian poetess, and Diotima shall be still another. Theano shall contribute her high-mindedness, Sappho the elegance of her character, and Diotima shall be copied not only in those qualities for which Socrates commended her, but in her general intelligence and power to give counsel.

– Sappho's elegance of character
– Diotima
– Socrates

Scholion
Rabe (1906), p. 186

Ad Luc. Imag.18.4: *ὅσον εἰς σῶμα εἰδεχθεστάτη Σαπφώ, μικρά τε καὶ μέλαινα ὁρωμένη, καί τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἀηδὼν ἀμόρφοις τοῖς πτίλοις ἐπι σμικρῷ τῷ σώματι περιειλημένη.*

Sappho was very ugly as far as her body was concerned. She looked small and dark, yes, like what else than a nightingale wrapped up in shapeless feathers on a tiny body?

– Physical unattractiveness
– Sappho as unattractive
– Nightingale as an unattractive bird

AD *c.*120–80

Tatian
***Oratio ad Graecos*, *Address to the Greeks*, 33.1–2 (Goodspeed (1915), *ad loc.*)**

Διὰ τοῦτο προὐθυμήθην ἀπὸ τῶν νομιζομένων παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τιμίων παριστᾶν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα σωφρονεῖ, τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα [ἔθη] μανίας ἔχεται πολλῆς. οἱ γὰρ ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ μειρακίοις παρθένοις τε καὶ πρεσβύταις φλυαρεῖν ἡμᾶς λέγοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ σὺν ὑμῖν εἶναι χλευάζοντες ἀκούσατε τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι πραγμάτων τὸν λῆρον. ληραίνει γὰρ μᾶλλον διὰ δόξης πολλῆς τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐθῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀσχημονεῖ. Πράξιλλαν μὲν γὰρ Λύσιππος ἐχαλκούργησεν μηδὲν εἰποῦσαν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων χρήσιμον, Λεαρχίδα δὲ Μενέστρατος, Σιλανίων δὲ Σαπφὼ τὴν ἑταίραν, Ἥρινναν τὴν

– Lysippus, sculptor
– Praxilla's honorific portrait
– Menestratus, sculptor
– Learchis
– Silanion, sculptor
– Sappho's honorific portrait
– Sappho, prostitute
– Naucydes, sculptor

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Λεσβίαν Ναυκύδης, Βοΐσκος Μυρτίδα, Μυρὼ τὴν Βυζαντίαν Κηφισόδοτος, Γόμφος Πραξαγορίδα καὶ Ἀμφίστρατος Κλειτώ. τί γάρ μοι περὶ Ἀνύτης λέγειν Τελεσίλλης τε καὶ Μυστίδος; τῆς μὲν γὰρ Εὐθυκράτης τε καὶ Κηφισόδοτος, τῆς δὲ Νικήρατος, τῆς δὲ Ἀριστόδοτός εἰσιν οἱ δημιουργοί· Μνησαρχίδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας Εὐθυκράτης, Κορίννης Σιλανίων, Θαλιαρχίδος τῆς Ἀργείας Εὐθυκράτης. ταύτας δὲ εἰπεῖν προὐθυμήθην, ἵνα μηδὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ξένον τι πράττεσθαι νομίζητε καὶ συγκρίναντες τὰ ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἐπιτηδεύματα μὴ χλευάζητε τὰς πάρ᾽ ἡμῖν φιλοσοφούσας. καὶ ἡ μὲν Σαπφὼ γύναιον πορνικὸν ἐρωτομανές, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσέλγειαν ᾄδει· πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σωφρονοῦσιν, καὶ περὶ τὰς ἠλακάτας αἱ παρθένοι τὰ κατὰ θεὸν λαλοῦσιν ἐκφωνήματα σπουδαιότερον τῆς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν παιδός.	– Erinna's honorific portrait – Boiscus, sculptor – Myrtis' honorific portrait – Cephistodotus, sculptor – Byzantine Myro's honorific portrait – Gomphus, sculptor – Praxagoris' honorific portrait – Amphistratus, sculptor
	For this reason I want to prove from what you consider honourable that our behaviour is chaste, while yours borders on madness. You say that we talk rubbish at meetings of women and boys and girls, and you jeer at us because we do not go along with you; just listen how nonsensical Greek doings are! Your usual practices are the more nonsensical because they are well thought of, and are brought into discredit through your womankind. For Lysippus made a bronze statue of Praxilla, though she said nothing useful in her poems; other statues were made by Menestratus of Learchis, Silanion of Sappho the prostitute, Naucydes of Erinna the Lesbian, Boiscus of Myrtis, Cephisodotus of Myro the Byzantine, Gomphus of Praxagoris and Amphistratus of Clito. Why mention Anyte and Telesilla and Mystis? Euthycrates and Cephisodotus sculpted the first, Niceratus the second and Aristodotus the third, Euthycrates Mnesarchis the Ephesian, Silanion Corinna, Euthycrates Thaliarchis the Argive. I want to mention these women so that you may not think that we indulge in strange	– Clito's honorific portrait – Anyte's honorific portrait – Telesilla's honoritific portrait – Mystis' honorific portrait – Euthycrates, sculptor – Cephistodotus, sculptor – Niceratus, sculptor – Aristodotus, sculptor – Mnesarchis' honorific portrait – Erinna's honorific portrait

activities, or jeer at the women who philosophize among us, when you compare the practices before your own eyes. Sappho was a little whore-woman, maddened by love, and sang of her own lewdness, whereas all our women are chaste, and our girls at their distaffs talk in godly terms to better effect than that girl of yours.

– Euthycrates, sculptor
– Thaliarchis' honorific portrait

Before AD second–third century

***P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1**
Col. i.

περὶ Σαπφ]οῦς
[Σαπφὼ τὸ μὲν ἔνος] ἦν Λε
[σβία πόλεως δὲ Μιτ]υλήνης
[πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου κα
[τὰ δέ τινας Σκα]μανδρωνύ
[μου ἀδελφοὺς δ] ἔσχε τρεῖς
[Ἔρ]ι̣[γυιον καὶ Λά]ριχον πρε
σβυ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον ὃς πλεύ
σας ε[ἰς Αἴγυπτον] Δωρίχαι τι
νι προσε[νεχθε]ὶς κατεδα
πάνησεν εἰς ταύτην πλεῖ
στα τὸν δὲ Λάριχον <νέον> ὄντα μᾶλ
λον ηγάπησεν θυγατέρα δ' ἔ
σχε Κλεῖν ὁμώνυμον τῆι ἑ
αυτῆς μη̣τ̣ρί κ[α]τηγόρηται
δ̣' ὑπ ἐν[ί]ω[ν] ὡς ἄτακτος οὖ
[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε
[ράσ]τρια τὴν δὲ μορφὴν
[εὐ]καταφρόνητος δοκεῖ γε
[γον]έ̣ν̣α[ι κα]ι̣ δυσειδεστάτη[[ν]]

– Sappho's life
– Mytilene
– Scamandronymus
– Erigyius
– Larichus
– Charaxus
– Rhodopis/Doricha
– Cleis (Sappho's mother)
– Cleis (Sappho's daughter)
– Homoeroticism
– Unattractive appearance
– Alcaeus?
– Chamaeleon
– Aeolic dialect
– Nine books of lyric poetry
– One book of elegies

(*continued*)

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[τ]ὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄψιν φαιώδης
[ὑ]πῆρχεν τὸ δὲ μέγεθος >
μικρὰ παντελῶς τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ
[συ]μβέβηκε καὶ περὶ τὸν
[. . . . .]ν ἐλάττω [. .] γεγον<Ότα>α
[15 letters]. ηι

Col. ii.
περιτ[13 letters ὥσ ?
περ Χαμαιλέω[ν . . . . . .
τιος ἐλανήθ[η . . . . . .
ἀπ αὐτου λέγει [. . . Αἰολίδι ?
διαλέκτωι κεχρ[η . . . . . γέ
γραφεν δὲ βυβλ[ία ἐννέα μὲν
λυρικά ἐλεγείω[ν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ?
εν
>–

On Sappho
Sappho was a Lesbian by birth, of the city of Mytilene. Her father was Scamander or, according to some, Scamandronymus, and she had three brothers, Erigyius, Larichus, and Charaxus, the eldest, who sailed to Egypt and associated with one Doricha, spending large sums on her; Sappho was fonder of the young Larichus. She had a daughter Cleis, named after her own mother. She has been accused by some of being irregular in her ways and a woman-lover.

In appearance she seems to have been contemptible and quite ugly, being dark in complexion and of very small stature. The same is true of (Alcaeus?) who was smallish . . . like Chamaeleon (of Pontus?), went wrong . . . from him says . . . she used the Aeolic dialect . . . she wrote (nine?) books of lyric poetry and one book of elegiacs (and other kinds).

AD second–third century

Alciphron
***Epistulae, Letters*, 1.11 (Schepers (1905), *ad loc.*)**

- Glaucippe
- Charope
- Methymna
- Oschophoria
- Graces
- Orchomenus
- Argaphian
- Aphrodite
- Lesbian Sappho
- Leap from Leucas
- Leap from Piraeus

Γλαυκίππη Χαρόπῃ.
Οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτῇ, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐδὲ ἀνέχομαι γήμασθαι ᾧ με κατεγγυήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο ἔναγχος ὁ πατήρ, τῷ Μηθυμναίῳ μειρακίῳ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου, ἐξ ὅτου τὸν ἀστικὸν ἔφηβον ἐθεασάμην τὸν ὠσχοφόρον, ὅτε με ἄστυδε προὔτρεψας ἀφικέσθαι Ὡσχοφορίων ὄντων. καλὸς γάρ ἐστι, καλός, ὦ μῆτερ, καὶ ἥδιστος, καὶ βοστρύχους ἔχει βρύων οὐλοτέρους, καὶ μειδιᾷ τῆς θαλάττης γαληνιώσης χαριέστερον, καὶ τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστι κυναυγής, οἷος τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλιακῶν ὁ πόντος καταλαμπόμενος φαίνεται. τὸ δὲ ὅλον πρόσωπον—αὐτὰς ἐνορχεῖσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς εἴποις ἂν τὰς Χάριτας τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπολιπούσας καὶ τῆς Ἀργαφίας κρήνης ἀπονιψαμένας· τῷ χείλη δὲ τὰ ῥόδα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀποσυλήσας τῶν κόλπων διήνθισται ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιθέμενος. ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι ἢ τὴν Λεσβίαν μιμησαμένη Σαπφὼ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Πειραϊκῶν προβόλων ἐμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω.

Glaucippe to Charope.
I am no longer myself, mother; I cannot endure the thought of being married to the boy from Methymna, the sea-captain's son to whom father recently promised to betroth me; I have felt this way ever since I saw the young guardsman from the city, the one who carried the vine-branch when, at your bidding, I went there on the occasion of the Oschophoria. He is beautiful,

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	mother, beautiful, the sweetest thing, and his locks are curlier than sea-moss, and his smile is more charming than the sea in a calm, and the radiance of his eyes is like the dark blue of the sea, as it appears in the first moment of illumination by the sun's rays. And his whole face—you might say that the Graces themselves have left Orchomenus and, after bathing in the Argaphian spring, are dancing in his cheeks; and his lips—he has filched the roses from the bosom of Aphrodite and tipped his lips with their bloom. I intend to lie with this man, or, if I can't, I shall follow the example of Lesbian Sappho: not indeed from the Leucadian cliff but from the jutting rocks of the Peiraeus I shall hurl myself into the surf.	
AD second–third century	**Athenaeus** ***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 5.19 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 1, p. 427) (= 5.192c Casaubon/Olson)** *παρὰ δὲ τῇ καλῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οἰνοχοεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.* And in the noble Sappho Hermes pours wine for the gods.	– Hermes, the gods' winepourer
	***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 9.46 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 2, p. 354) (= 9.391ef Casaubon/Olson)** *καὶ οἱ στρουθοὶ δέ εἰσιν ὀχευτικοί· διὸ καὶ Τερψικλῆς τοὺς ἐμφαγόντας φησὶν στρουθῶν ἐπικαταφόρους πρὸς ἀφροδίσια γίνεσθαι. μήποτε οὖν καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπ' αὐτῶν φησιν ὀχεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὀχευτικὸν τὸ ζῷον καὶ πολύγονον.* Sparrows are also highly salacious (*ocheutikoi*); this is why Terpsicles claims that people who eat sparrows are prone to lust. Perhaps, therefore, this is the basis on which Sappho reports that Aphrodite's chariot is drawn (*ocheisthai*) by	– Sparrows – Sexual lust – Tersicles – Aphrodite's chariot – Sappho poem 1

sparrows; because the fact is that the bird likes to have sex (*ocheutikon*) and lays many eggs.

***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 9.79 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 2, p. 395) (= 9.410de Casaubon/Olson)**

- Sappho Book 5
- Sappho fr. 101 Voight
- Aphrodite
- Hecataeus
- *Asia*, periegetic work presumably by Hecataeus

Σαπφὼ δ' ὅταν λέγῃ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν μελῶν
(πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην)

χειρόμακτρα δὲ † καγγόνων †
πορφύρᾳ † καταυταμενὰ-
τατιμάωεις † πέμψ' ἀπὺ Φωκάας
δῶρα τίμια † καγγόνων †,

κόσμον λέγει κεφαλῆς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς καὶ Ἑκαταῖος δηλοῖ ἢ ὁ γεγραφὼς τὰς περιηγήσεις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπιγραφομένῃ· "γυναῖκες δ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχουσι χειρόμακτρα".

When Sappho in Book 5 of her Lyric Poems tells Aphrodite:

and towels (*cheiromaktra*) [corrupt]
with purple [corrupt]
[corrupt] he sent from Phocaea
as a gift full of honor [corrupt],

she is using *cheiromaktra* to refer to something worn on one's head, as Hecataeus (or whoever wrote his *Tours*) makes clear in his work entitled *Asia*: Women wear *cheiromaktra* on their heads.

***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 10.24 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 2, p. 424) (= 13.425a Casaubon/Olson)**

- Larichus, Sappho's brother
- The town-hall of the Mytileans

Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις.

The lovely Sappho often praises her brother Larichus because he poured the wine for the Mytilenaeans in the town-hall.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 12.79 (Kaibel (1887), vol. 3, pp. 222–3) (= 12.554b Casaubon/Olson)** *φυσικὸν γὰρ δή τι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ ὡραίους ἀνθολογεῖν. ὅθεν αἵ τε περὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην ἀνθολογεῖν λέγονται καὶ Σαπφώ φησιν ἰδεῖν "ἄνθε' ἀμέργουισαν παῖδ' ἄγαν ἀπάλαν".* Because it is natural for individuals who believe that they are handsome and full of youthful beauty to gather flowers. This is why the girls who accompany Persephone are said to be gathering flowers, and why Sappho claims that she sees 'a very delicate girl collecting flowers'.	– Youth – Flowers – Persephone – Sappho fr. 122 Voigt
	***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.17 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 244) (= 13.564d Casaubon/Olson)** *καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζόμενον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενόν φησιν·* *στâθι †κἄντα†, φίλος,* *καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοις' ὀμπέτασον χάριν* Sappho as well says to the man who is much-admired for his physique and considered handsome: Stand † also opposite †, dear one, and spread wide the delight that is in your eyes.	– Handsome man – Sappho fr. 138 Voigt
	***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 13.28 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, pp. 259–60) (= 13.571cd Casaubon/Olson)** *καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ αἱ παρθένοι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἑταίρας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ·*	– Sappho's hetaerae of free women – Sappho's song – Leto

τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις
ταῖς ἐμαῖσι τερπνὰ καλῶς ἀείσω.

– Niobe
– Sappho fr. 160 + 142 Voigt

καὶ ἔτι·

Λατὼ καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταῖραι.

Even today, at any rate, free women and girls refer to their friends and associates as hetaerae, for example Sappho:

I will now sing these
pleasant [?] songs beautifully for my hetaerae.

Furthermore:

Leto and Niobe were very close hetaerae.

***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 15.16 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 491) (= 15.674ef Casaubon/Olson)**

– Garlands
– Flowers
– Spice
– Dica
– Graces
– Gods
– Sappho fr. 81 Voigt

Σαπφὼ δ' ἁπλούστερον τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδίδωσιν τοῦ στεφανοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς, λέγουσα τάδε·

σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις, ὦ Δίκα, περθέσθ' ἐρατοῖς φόβαισιν
ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συναρραις' ἀπάλαῖσι χερσίν·
εὐάνθεα †γὰρ πέλεται† καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιρα<ι>,
μᾶλλον †προσόρην†, ἀστεφανώτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται.

ὡς εὐανθέστερον γὰρ καὶ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τοῖς θεοῖς παραγγέλλει στεφανοῦσθαι τοὺς θύοντας.

Sappho offers a simpler explanation of why we wear garlands, saying the following:

Wrap anise shoots together into garlands, Dica,
with your soft hands, and place them around your
lovely hair;
with fine flowers † for it is † and the blessed Graces
more [corrupt], but turn away from those who wear
no garlands.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	For she recommends that people making a sacrifice wear garlands, because whatever has more flowers is more appealing to the gods.	
	***Deipnosophistae*, *The Learned Banqueters*, 15.35 (Kaibel (1890), vol. 3, p. 519) (= 15.687ab Casaubon/Olson)**	– Sappho fr. 58.23–6 Voigt, but most probably the beginning of a new poem (cf. Hammerstaedt 2009)
	ὑμεῖς δὲ οἴεσθε τὴν ἁβρότητα χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τι τρυφερόν; καίτοι Σαπφώ, γυνὴ μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὖσα καὶ ποιήτρια, ὅμως ᾐδέσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἁβρότητος ἀφελεῖν λέγουσα ὧδε·	– Daintiness – Sun
	ἔγὼ δὲ φίλημ᾽ ἁβροσύναν, τοῦτο καί μοι *τὸ λάμπρον ἔρως ἀελίω καὶ τὸ καάλον λέλογχε,*	
	φανερὸν ποιοῦσα πᾶσιν ὡς ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ· ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶν οἰκεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς.	
	Do you believe that daintiness, if divorced from virtue, contains anything resembling luxury? Yet Sappho, who was certainly a woman as well as a poetess, was nonetheless reluctant to distinguish beauty from daintiness, putting it thus:	
	But I love daintiness, . . . and in my opinion a longing for the sun implies what is bright and beautiful,	
	making it apparent to everyone that her lust for life involved the bright and beautiful; these qualities are closely associated with virtue.	
AD second–third century	**[Plutarch]** ***Moralia*, 1136d, *De musica*, *On Music* 16 (Ziegler (1966), vol. 6.3, *ad loc.*)**	– The Mixolydian mode – Aristoxenus
	Καὶ ἡ Μιξολύδιος δὲ παθητική τίς ἐστι, τραγῳδίαις ἁρμόζουσα. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησι Σαπφὼ πρώτην εὕρασθαι τὴν Μιξολυδιστί, παρ᾽ ἧς τοὺς τραγῳδοποιοὺς μαθεῖν· λαβόντας γοῦν αὐτὴν συζεῦξαι τῇ Δωριστί, ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς	– Tragedy – Metrical invention of Sappho

καὶ ἀξιωματικὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, ἡ δὲ τὸ παθητικόν, μέμικται δὲ διὰ τούτων τραγῳδία.

The Mixolydian mode is also emotional, and suited to tragedy. Aristoxenus says that Sappho was the first to invent the Mixolydian and that the tragedians learned it from her; thus when they took it over they combined it with the Dorian, since the Dorian produces the effect of grandeur and dignity, the other, that of passion, and tragedy is a blend of the two.

– Dorian mode

AD *c.*150–*c.*215

Clement of Alexandria
***Stromateis*, *Miscellanies* 4.19.122–3 (Früchtel, Stählin, and Treu (1960), *ad loc.*)**

παραπέμπομαι τοίνυν τὰς ἄλλας διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου, μήτε τὰς ποιητρίας καταλέγων, Κόρινναν καὶ Τελέσιλλαν Μυΐάν τε καὶ Σαπφώ, ἢ τὰς ζωγράφους, καθάπερ Εἰρήνην τὴν Κρατίνου θυγατέρα καὶ Ἀναξάνδραν τὴν Νεάλκους, ἅς φησι Δίδυμος ἐν Συμποσιακοῖς.

I omit, on account of the length of the discourse, the rest; enumerating neither the poetesses Corinna, Telesilla, Myia, and Sappho; nor the painters, as Irene the daughter of Cratinus, and Anaxandra the daughter of Nealces, according to the account of Didymus in the *Symposiaci*.

– Corinna
– Telesilla
– Myia
– Irene, a painter
– Anaxandra, a painter
– Didymus

AD 129–216

Galen
***Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequuntur*, *That the Qualities of the Mind Depend on the Temperament of the Body*, 4.771.16–19 (Helmreich, Marquardt, and Müller (1891), *ad loc.*)**

. . . καθάπερ ὅταν εἴπωσιν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποιητοῦ λελέχθαι τόδε τὸ ἔπος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ποιητρίας τόδε· πάντες γὰρ ἀκούομεν Ὅμηρον <μὲν> λέγεσθαι ποιητήν, Σαπφὼ δὲ ποιήτριαν.

. . . just as when they say that this speech was spoken by the poet, and this by the poetess. For we all understand that 'poet' means Homer and 'poetess' Sappho.

– Homer, the poet
– Sappho, the poet

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*, also known as *Protrepticus* 8.16 (Wenkebach (1935), *ad loc.*)** *ἄμεινον οὖν ἐστιν ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν τῶν μειρακίων ὥραν τοῖς ἠρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐοικυῖαν ὀλιγοχρόνιόν τε τὴν τέρψιν ἔχουσαν ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ <ἐπαίρειν> τὴν Λεσβίαν λέγουσαν* *"ὁ μὲν γὰρ καλὸς ὅσσον ἰδεῖν πέλεται <καλός>,* *ὁ δὲ κἀγαθὸς αὐτίκα καὶ καλὸς ἔσται."* Therefore, since we know that the prime of youth is like the spring flowers and brings short-lived enjoyment, it is better to commend <and exalt> the woman of Lesbos when she says: for he that is beautiful is <beautiful> as far as appearances go, while he that is good will consequently also be beautiful.	– Youth – Appearences – Morally good – Sappho fr. 50 Voigt
AD late second / early third century	**Terentianus Maurus** ***De litteris syllabis pedibus et metris*, *On Words, on Syllables, and on Metres*, 2128–55 (Keil (1857–80) *ad loc.*)** Aeolicum ex isto genuit doctissima Sappho, quod sit quinque pedum, uelut hos modo perspicis. nam primum addidit illa disyllabon, ut libet: spondeum nec enim capiti locat omnium, sed quia est mobilis hic locus, et chorion solet admiscere, dein quater addere dactylon, cordi quando fuisse sibi canit Atthida paruam, florea uirginitas sua cum foret.	– The Aeolian metre – Atthis – Sappho's youth

From this the utterly learned Sappho brought forth the Aeolian metre, which must be of five feet, just as those you can see here. For she added the first disyllable, as is pleasing: and she does not arrange the spondee at the head of everything, because this place is mobile, and she uses to mix in a chorion and then add four dactyls; she sings about when Atthis, the little girl, was in her heart, when her flourishing youth existed.

AD *c.*171–250

Philostratus of Athens
***Vitae Apollonii*, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 1.30.5 (Kayser (1870), vol. 1, *ad loc.*)**

– Damophyle, a companion of Sappho
– Artemis

. . . καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν "ἤρου με" ἔφη "πρώην, ὅ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί, ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι, ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον." "ἠρόμην", ἔφη "τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας." "οὐκ, ὦ χρηστέ, εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε· πρὸς ἄλλῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῴδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῴων ᾖσται."

Addressing Damis, he said, 'The other day you were asking me the name of the Pamphylian woman who was allegedly a companion of Sappho, and composed the hymns they sing to Artemis of Perge in a combination of Aeolian and Pamphylian styles.' 'I did ask you', he replied, 'but you did not tell me her name.' 'No, my friend, but I explained to you the melodies of the hymns and the references in them, and how she transposed the Aeolian style into something truly exquisite and peculiarly Pamphylian. After that we went on to another subject, and you no longer asked me her name. Well, this skilful woman's name

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	was Damophyle, and they say that like Sappho she gathered a group of girls around her and composed poems, some of them love poems and others hymns. The hymn to Artemis is a derivative work of hers, taken from Sappho's poems.'	
	Letter 51, *To Cleonide* (Kayser (1871), vol. 2, *ad loc.*) *Κλεονίδη. Ἡ Σαπφὼ τοῦ ῥόδου ἐρᾷ καὶ στεφανοῖ αὐτὸ ἀεί τινι ἐγκωμίῳ τὰς καλὰς τῶν παρθένων ἐκείνῳ ὁμοιοῦσα, ὁμοιοῖ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Χαρίτων πήχεσιν . . .* Sappho loves the rose and always crowns it with some eulogy, likening the beautiful maidens to it, and she also likens it to the forearms of the Graces . . .	– Sappho's love for the rose – The graces
AD 175–235	**Aelian** ***Varia historia*, *Historical Miscellany*, 12.18–19 (Hercher (1866), vol. 2, *ad loc.*)** *Τὸν Φάωνα κάλλιστον ὄντα ἀνθρώπων ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν θριδακίναις ἔκρυψε. λόγος δὲ ἕτερος ὅτι ἦν πορθμεὺς καὶ εἶχε τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. ἀφικνεῖται δέ ποτε ἡ Ἀφροδίτη διαπλεῦσαι βουλομένη, ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ἦν, καὶ σὺν πολλῇ <τῇ> φροντίδι ἤγαγεν ὅποι ποτὲ ἐβούλετο. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἀλάβαστρον αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶχεν αὐτὴ μύρον, ᾧ χριόμενος ὁ Φάων ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων κάλλιστος· καὶ ἦρων γε αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῦ αἱ Μιτυληναίων. τά γε μὴν τελευταῖα ἀπεσφάγη μοιχεύων ἁλούς. Τὴν ποιήτριαν Σαπφώ, τὴν Σκαμανδρωνύμου θυγατέρα, ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος σοφὴν ἀναγράφει. πυνθάνομαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ἐγένετο Σαπφώ, ἑταίρα, οὐ ποιήτρια.* Aphrodite hid Phaon, the most handsome man on earth, in a lettuce field. Another story is that he was a ferryman and earned his living in that way. One day Aphrodite arrived and wished to cross; he welcomed her with pleasure, not	– Aphrodite – Phaon hidden in lettuce – Phaon, the ferryman rendered attractive by myrrh – Mytilene – Adultery – Execution – Sappho the poet – Scamandronymus – Beauty – Sappho, the prostitute

knowing who she was, and guided her most attentively where she wished to go. In return the goddess gave him an alabaster pot. This contained myrrh, and when Phaon rubbed this on himself he became the most handsome of humans. The women of Mytilene fell in love with him. But in the end he was caught *in flagrante* and executed. The poet Sappho, daughter of Scamandronymus, is described as wise by Plato son of Ariston. I learn that there was another Sappho on Lesbos, a courtesan, not a poet.

Aelian quoted by Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.29.58 (Hense and Wachsmuth (1894), vol. 3, p. 688)

- Sympotic setting of Sappho's songs
- Solon's admiration for Sappho's poetry

Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ Ἐξηκεστίδου παρὰ πότον τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ αὐτοῦ μέλος τι Σαπφοῦς ᾄσαντος. ἤσθη τῷ μέλει καὶ προσέταξε τῷ μειρακίῳ διδάξαι αὐτόν. ἐρωτήσαντος δέ τινος διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν τοῦτο ἐσπούδασεν, ὃ δὲ ἔφη "ἵνα μαθὼν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω".

Solon of Athens, son of Execestides, when his nephew sang a song of Sappho's over the wine, liked the song and told the boy to teach it to him; and when someone asked why he was so eager about it, he said, 'So that I may learn it and die'.

AD *c.*190–*c.*230

Philostratus the Elder
***Imagines* 2.1.2 (Benndorf and Schenkl (1893), *ad loc.*)**

- Libation
- Frankincense
- Cassia
- Myrrh
- Breath of Sappho

βούλει λόγου τι ἐπιλείβωμεν τῷ βωμῷ; λιβανωτοῦ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἔχει καὶ κασίας καὶ σμύρνης, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Σαπφοῦς τι ἀναπνεῖν.

Do you want us to pour a libation of discourse upon the altar? There is sufficient frankincense and cassia and myrrh; the altar seems to me to exhale a breath of Sappho.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Imagines* 2.1.3 (Benndorf and Schenkl (1893), *ad loc.*)**	– Young women
	τὰ δὲ εἴδη τῶν παρθένων εἰ τῷ Πάριδι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ κριτῇ ἐπιτρέποιμεν, ἀπορῆσαι ἂν δοκεῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοσοῦτον ἁμιλλῶνται ῥοδοπήχεις καὶ ἑλικώπιδες καὶ καλλιπάρῃοι καὶ μελίφωνοι· Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἡδὺ πρόσφθεγμα.	– Paris – Beauty – Honeyed voices
	As to the figures of the maidens, if we were to leave the decision regarding them to Paris or any other judge, I believe he would be at a loss how to vote, so close is the rivalry among them in rosy arms and flashing eyes and fair cheeks and in 'honeyed voices', to use the charming expression of Sappho.	
AD late third century	**Menander ('Rhetor')** ***On Display Oratory*, 333.8–10 (Russell and Wilson (1981), p. 6)**	– Sappho's hymns – Anacreon's hymns
	κλητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁποῖοί εἰσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τε παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ ἢ Ἀνακρέοντι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις μελικοῖς, κλῆσιν ἔχοντες πολλῶν θεῶν.	– Poetic summoning of gods
	Hymns of invocation are like the majority of the hymns of Sappho or Anacreon or the other poets, containing invocations of many deities.	
	***On Display Oratory*, 334.25–335.4 (Russel and Wilson (1981), pp. 8–10)**	– Alcman – Artemis – Mountains – Cities – Rivers – Aphrodite – Cyprus – Cnidus – Syria
	. . . μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων ἐν μὲν ποιήσει ἐπιμηκέστερον. ἀναμιμνήσκειν γὰρ πολλῶν τόπων ἐκείνοις ἔξεστιν, ὡς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι πολλαχοῦ εὑρίσκομεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων ὀρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην <ἐκ> Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλαχόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὺς ἔξεστι διαγράφειν, οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν καλοίη, ὕδωρ ἢ ὄχθας καὶ τοὺς ποπεφυκότας λειμῶνας καὶ χοροὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γινομένους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσαναγράφουσι	

. . . The poetic hymns of invocation are quite lengthy. For they can summon the gods from many locations, as we often find in Sappho and Alcman: the poets summon Artemis from many mountains and cities, from rivers too, and Aphrodite from Cyprus, Cnidos, Syria, and many other places. They can, in addition, describe the places themselves: in the case of rivers, the water and banks, the nearby meadows and dances held beside the rivers, and so forth.

***On Display Oratory* 402.15–18 (Russel and Wilson (1981), p. 140)**

– Poets
– Historians
– Sappho's love-poetry
– Homer
– Hesiod
– Epithalamia

πολλὴ δὲ ἱστορία τοιαύτη παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι, παρ᾽ ὧν καὶ λήψῃ τὴν χορηγίαν, ἐπιφωνήσεις δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς ἐρωτικῶν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.

There is a great deal of such narrative in the poets and historians, where you will find abundant supply, but you will quote also from Sappho's love poetry, from Homer and from Hesiod.

AD third–fourth century

[Lucian]
***Amores*, *Affairs of the Heart*, 30.7–15 (Macleod (1967), *ad loc.*)**

– Telesilla
– Ares as the gods of the women of Argos
– Sappho as the pride of Lesbos
– Theano
– Pericles
– Aspasia

σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐταὶ περὶ αὑτῶν, ὁπόσαι προὔχειν κατὰ σοφίαν ἐδόκουν, εἴ τις αὐταῖς τὴν τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσίαν ἐφῆκεν, οὕτω μετὰ σπουδῆς ἂν εἶπον, οὐχ ἡ Σπαρτιάταις ἀνθωπλισμένη Τελέσιλλα, δι᾽ ἣν ἐν Ἄργει θεὸς ἀριθμεῖται γυναικῶν Ἄρης· οὐχὶ τὸ μελιχρὸν αὔχημα Λεσβίων Σαπφὼ καὶ ἡ τῆς Πυθαγορείου σοφίας θυγάτηρ Θεανώ· τάχα δ᾽ οὐδὲ Περικλῆς οὕτως ἂν Ἀσπασίᾳ συνηγόρησεν.

For hardly even those among them thought preeminent for wisdom could, if given full authority to speak, have spoken about themselves with such zeal, no, not even Telesilla, who armed herself against the Spartiates, and because of whom Ares is numbered among the gods of the women at Argos, no nor Sappho, the honey-sweet pride of Lesbos or Theano, that daughter of

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Pythagorean wisdom! Perhaps even Pericles could not have pleaded equally well for Aspasia.	
AD third–fourth century	**Lucius Ampelius** ***Liber memorialis* 8.4.1–2 (Assmann (1946), p. 14)** Leucade mons unde se Sappho deiecit propter uirum. There is a mountain in Leucas from which Sappho threw herself down because of a man.	– Sappho's leap from Leucas
AD fourth century	**<Ammonius>** ***De adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, *On the Differences of Synonymous Expressions*, 513 (Nickau (1966), *ad loc.*)** ἡ μὲν χλαῖνα ἡρωικὸν φόρημα, χλαμὺς δὲ Μακεδονικὸν μετὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτη τῶν ἡρωικῶν ὀνομασθεῖσα· Σαπφὼ πρώτη γὰρ μέμνηται τῆς χλαμύδος. The *chlaina* is a garment from the heroic age, while the *chlamys* is Macedonian, mentioned by name six hundred years after the heroic age. Sappho was the first to mention the *chlamys*.	– The heroic age – *Chlaina*, a garment – *Chalmys*, a garment first mentioned by Sappho
AD 310–95	**Ausonius** ***Book* 19, *Epigramata de diversis rebus*, *Epigrams on Various Matters*, 23, *To a Poor Lover*, 11–14 (Green (1991), *ad loc.*)** 'Suasi, quod potui: tu alios modo consule.' 'Dic quos?' 'Quod sibi suaserunt, Phaedra et Elissa dabunt, quod Canace Phyllisque et fastidita Phaoni.' 'Hoc das consilium? tale datur miseris.' 'I have advised you all I can: now take others' counsel.' 'Tell me whose?' 'Phaedra and Elissa will give the advice they gave themselves, Canace, too, and	– Phaedra – Elissa/Dido – Canace – Phyllis – She whom Phaon scorned (Sappho) – (= the heroines of Ovid's *Heroides* 2, 4, 7, 11, and 15)

Phyllis, and she whom Phaon scorned.' 'Do you give this counsel? Such is given to the unhappy!'

– Suicide

***Book* 19, *Epigrammata de diversis rebus*, *Epigrams on Various Matters*, 51, To a Figure of Sappho (Green (1991), *ad loc.*)**

Lesbia Pieriis Sappho soror addita Musis
εἴμ' ἐνάτη λυρικῶν, Ἀονίδων δεκάτη.

I, Lesbian Sappho, adopted sister of the Muses, am ninth of the lyrists, tenth of the Aonides.

– Sappho as one of the nine canonical poets
– Sappho as the tenth Muse

***Book* 18, *Epistulae*, *The Epistles*, 14, Ausonius to Theon 91–3 (Green (1991), *ad loc.*)**

sunt et quos generat puella Sappho:
quos primus regit hippius secundus,
ut eludat choriambon antibacchus.

There are also those which the girl Sappho brought forth which a second hippius introduces in first place so that the antibacchius avoids a choriamb.

– The girl and verse-maker Sappho
– The hippius secundus (metre)
– The choriambus (metre)
– The antibacchus (metre)

AD *c.*314–93

Libanius
***Oratio*, *Orations* 12.99 (Foerster (1904), vol. 2, p. 44)**

Τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, εἴ τις ἦν ἀγὼν ἐνιαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἀθληταῖς, καὶ κρίσις, δοκῶ μοι πᾶσιν ἂν νικῆσαι τοῖς κριταῖς. ὕπατον μὲν γὰρ ἐδέξαντο πολλοὶ καὶ δέξαιντό γε, πρῶτος δὲ οὗτος ἐν μοναρχίᾳ. εἰ οὖν Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν εὔξασθαι νύκτα αὐτῇ γενέσθαι διπλασίαν, ἐξέστω κἀμοί τι παραπλήσιον αἰτῆσαι· Χρόνε, πάτερ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ μηνῶν, ἔκτεινον ἡμῖν τουτὶ τὸ ἔτος ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τε πλεῖστον, ὥσπερ ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς ἐσπείρετο, τὴν νύκτα ἐξέτεινας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅλως τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ζωὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν ὅρον τοῦ Σόλωνος ἔλκε σαυτοῦ νομίζων κόσμον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως γῆρας.

– Sappho prays that her night must be made twice as long
– Heracles
– Solon
– The emperor Julian as consul

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Were there competition between the years, as there is between athletes, and decision upon the winner, this year would have been declared the winner by unanimous verdict. Many of them have welcomed a consul—and may they continue so to do—but this one leads the field in the monarchy. So, if nothing stopped Sappho of Lesbos from praying for her night to be made twice as long, let me too make a similar prayer: 'Chronos, father of the year and the months, extend this year for us as far as you can, as once you extended the night when Heracles was begotten. And moreover, take our emperor's life beyond the limits Solon set, and think the old age of a good emperor to be a credit to yourself.'	
AD 310–90	**Himerius** ***Oratio*, *Oration* 9, *The Epithalamium for Severus*, 37–47 (Colonna (1951), *ad loc.*)** *. . . τὰ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὄργια παρῆκαν τῇ Λεσβίᾳ Σαπφοῖ ᾄδειν πρὸς λύραν καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν θάλαμον· ἣ καὶ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας εἰς θάλαμον, πλέκει παστάδα, τὸ λέχος στρώννυσι, γράφει παρθένους, <εἰς> νυμφεῖον ἄγει καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐφ' ἅρμα Χαρίτων καὶ χορὸν Ἐρώτων συμπαίστορα. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὑακίνθῳ τὰς κόμας σφίγξασα, πλὴν ὅσαι μετώποις μερίζονται, τὰς λοιπὰς ταῖς αὔραις ἀφῆκεν ὑποκυμαίνειν, εἰ πλήττοιεν. τῶν δὲ τὰ πτερὰ καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους χρυσῷ κοσμήσασα πρὸ τοῦ δίφρου σπεύδει πομπεύοντας καὶ δᾷδα κινοῦντας μετάρσιον.* They left it to Lesbian Sappho to sing with her lyre of the rites of Aphrodite and to prepare the bedroom. After the contests, the poetess entered the bedroom; she readies it, makes the bed, gathers young maidens <at> the bridal chamber, and leads Aphrodite to the Graces' chariot along with her chorus of Erotes, who sport with her. She bound Aphrodite's hair in blue, except for the parted hair on	– The genre of the epithalamium – Marriage preparations – Aphrodite – Graces – Love

her forehead, letting what was unbound ripple in any breezes that might blow. Having adorned the Erotes' wings and locks of hair with gold, she urges them on as they process and wave their torches in the air in front of the chariot.

***Oratio*, *Oration*, 28.7–11 (Colonna (1951), *ad loc.*)**

- Beauty
- Aphrodite
- Loves
- Girls

Σαπφὼ δὲ μόνη γυναικῶν μετὰ λύρας ἐρασθεῖσα <καλῶν>, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἔρωσι ὅλην ἀνιεῖσα τὴν ποίησιν, παρθένου <κάλλος> καὶ χάριτας τῶν μελῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πρόφασιν . . .

Sappho alone among women loved beauty along with the lyre and therefore dedicated all her poetry to Aphrodite and the Loves, making a girl's beauty and graces the pretext for her songs.

AD *c.*331/2–363

Julian
***Epistulae*, *Letters*, 7, *To Alypius*, *Brother of Kaesarius*, 403d (Wright (1923), vol. 3, p. 18)**

- The poet of Cyrene (Callimachus)
- The beautiful Sappho
- Sappho's iambic verses

ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν πρόσθεν βελτίω, καὶ κατεμούσωσας αὐτὸ προσθεὶς τοὺς ἰάμβους, οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντας τὴν Βουπάλειον κατὰ τὸν Κυρηναῖον ποιητήν, ἀλλ᾽ οἵους ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ βούλεται τοῖς νόμοις ἁρμόττειν. καὶ τὸ μὲν δῶρον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁποῖον ἴσως σοί τε ἔπρεπε δοῦναι, ἐμοί τε ἥδιστον δέξασθαι.

For not only does it contain diagrams better than any hitherto made; but you have embellished it by adding those iambic verses, not such as 'Sing the War of Bupalus', as the poet of Cyrene expresses it, but such as beautiful Sappho is wont to fashion for her songs. In fact the gift is such as no doubt it well became you to give, while to me it is most agreeable to receive.

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***Epistulae*, *Letters*, 60, *To Eugenius the Philosopher*, 386bc (Wright (1923), vol. 3, p. 212)** *εἰ δέ μοι θέμις ἦν κατὰ τὸν Τήιον ἐκεῖνον μελοποιὸν τὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀλλάξασθαι φύσιν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου πρὸς Ὄλυμπον οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ μέμψεως ἐρωτικῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτοὺς ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀρῶν τοὺς πρόποδας ἔπτην, ἵνα σὲ τὸ μέλημα τῶμόν, ὥς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι.* But if it were granted me, in the words of the famous lyric poet of Teos, to change my nature to a bird's, I should certainly not 'fly to Olympus for Love'—no, not even to lodge a complaint against him—but I should fly to the very foothills of your mountains to embrace 'you, my darling', as Sappho says.	– The poet of Teos (= Anacreon) – Sappho fr. 163 Voigt
	***Epistulae*, *Letters*, 63, *To Hecebolius*, 387a (Wright (1923), vol. 3, p. 216)** *Σαπφὼ δ' ἡ καλὴ τὴν σελήνην ἀργυρέαν φησὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ὄψιν.* And Sappho the fair says that the moon is 'silvery', and that because of this it dims the radiance of the other stars.	– Sappho's 'silvery' moon – Cf. Sappho fr. 34 Voigt
AD *c.*347–420	**Jerome** **Translation and adaptation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon*, *Chronicle*, *Olympiad* 45.1 according to** **Helm (1984), p. 99b:** Sappho et Alcaeus poetae clari habentur. The poets Sappho and Alcaeus are regarded as famous.	– Sappho, the poet, lived at the same time as Alcaeus
	. . . **and Migne (1857), p. 462:** Sappho mulier philosopha et Alcaeus poeta clari habentur. Sappho, the woman philosopher, and Alcaeus, the poet, are regarded as famous.	– Sappho, the woman philosopher, lived at the same time as Alcaeus

AD 354–430

Augustine
***De musica*, *On Music*, 2.7.14 (Jacobsson (2017), p. 106)**

- Metre
- Sappho's name used for specific metres

Nam si auctoritatem solam intueamur, is erit uersus, quem uersum dici uoluit Asclepiades nescioqui aut Archilochus, poetae scilicet ueteres, aut Sappho poetria et ceteri, quorum etiam nominibus uersuum genera uocantur, quae primi animaduertentes cecinerunt.

For if we pay attention to authority alone, this will be the line, which some Asclepiades wanted to be called a verse, or an Archilochus, that is old poets, or the poetess Sappho and others, by whose names the types of verses are called, which they first noted in their songs.

AD *c.*317–post 394

Themistius
***Orations* 170d–171a (Downey, Schenkl (1965), *ad loc.*)**

- Anacreon
- Private versus kingly love

Σαπφοῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντι συγχωροῦμεν ἀμέτρους εἶναι καὶ ὑπερμέτρους ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῶν παιδικῶν· σωμάτων γὰρ ἥρων ἰδιωτικῶν ἰδιῶται καὶ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος ἐπῆν, εἰ χαυνωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαίνου αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐρώμενοι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ βασιλικὸς ὁ ἔρως, βασιλικὸς δὲ ὁ ἐρώμενος . . .

We allow Sappho and Anacreon to be immoderate and excessive in the praises of their beloved, for loved and lover were both private individuals, and there was no danger in it if the loved ones should become conceited by their praise. But this love is kingly, and kingly the beloved . . .

***Orations* 236bc (Downey, Norman, Schenkl (1971), *ad loc.*)**

- Menander
- Euripides
- Sophocles
- Pindar

οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπείχετο τῆς ἀρχαίας οὐδὲ τοῦ θεάτρου ὡς παντάπασι βεβήλων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ θαμὰ μὲν Μένανδρος ὁ χρυσοῦς, θαμὰ δ' Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος ὁ γενναῖος συνεπήχουν τε καὶ συνωργίαζον.

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	. . . for neither did he keep himself away from the ancient stage nor the theatre, as wholly impure and foreign to philosophy, but often the golden Menander, often Euripides and Sophocles, and also the beautiful Sappho and noble Pindar would sing and celebrate along with him.	
Before AD fifth century	***Anacreontea*** **Poem 20 (West (1984), *ad loc.*)** *Ἠδυμελὴς Ἀνακρέων,* *ἡδυμελὴς δὲ Σαπφώ·* *Πινδαρικὸν δ᾽ ἔτι μοι μέλος* *συγκεράσας τις ἐγχέοι.* *τὰ τρία ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ* *καὶ Διόνυσος ἐλθών* *καὶ Παφίη λιπαρόχροος* *καὐτὸς Ἔρως ἂν ἐκπιεῖν.* Anacreon is a sweet singer, Sappho a sweet singer; let them be mixed with a song of Pindar and poured in my cup. I think that if Dionysus came and the Paphian with her gleaming skin and Love himself, they would drink down this trio.	– Anacreon – Sappho – Pindar – Dionysus – Paphian (Aphrodite)
AD *c.*370–*c.*404	**Claudian** ***De nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, *Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria*, 229–35 (Hall (1985), p. 96)** illa autem secura tori taedasque parari	– Maria, empress (d. 407), married to the emperor Honorius

	nescia diuinae fruitur sermone parentis maternosque bibit mores exemplaque discit prisca pudicitiae Latios nec uoluere libros desinit aut Graios, ipsa genetrice magistra, Maeonius quaecumque senex aut Thracius Orpheus aut Mytilenaeo modulatur pectine Sappho . . . But Maria, with no thoughts of wedlock nor knowing that the torches were being got ready, was listening with rapt attention to the discourse of her saintly mother, drinking in that mother's nature and learning to follow the example of old-world chastity; nor does she cease under that mother's guidance to unroll the writers of Rome and Greece, all that old Homer sang, or Thracian Orpheus, or that Sappho set to music with Lesbian plectrum.	– Graeco-Roman education by Maria's mother – Homer – Orpheus – Sappho's songs
AD fourth–fifth century	**Maurus Servius Honoratus** ***In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii*, *On the Aeneid of Virgil*, 3.274.9–12 (Thilo and Hagen (1878), p. 389)** sane de hoc Leucate amatores se in mare ad excludendum amorem praecipitare dicebantur: ut Sappho . . . indeed, lovers are said to throw themselves from this Leucas into the sea in order to get rid of love: such as Sappho . . .	– Leucas – Unrequited love – Jump into the sea as a cure for love – Possibly Sappho
	***In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii*, *On the Aeneid of Virgil*, 6.21 (Thilo and Hagen (1883), p. 9)** septena quotannis quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipi uolunt, quod et Plato dicit in Phaedone et Sappho in lyricis et Bacchylides in dithyrambis et Euripides in Hercule, quos liberauit secum Theseus . . . Each year they want to receive seven girls and seven boys, as Plato says in *Phaedo* and Sappho in her lyric poetry and Bacchylides in his dithyrambs and Euripides in *Hercules*, whom Theseus liberated together with himself.	– The sacrifice of seven young girls and boys from Athens in the labyrinth of Cnossos – Plato's *Phaedo* – Sappho's lyrical songs – Bacchylides' dithyrambs – Theseus

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	***In Vergilii Bucolicon*, *On the Eclogues of Virgil*, 6.42 (Thilo and Hagen (1887), p. 9)** ob quam causam irati dii duo mala inmiserunt terris, mulieres et morbos, sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant. Due to this the gods in anger released two evils into the world, women and diseases, as both Sappho and Hesiod recall.	– Woman and disease as divine punishment – Sappho – Hesiod
	***In Vergilii Georgicon*, *On the Georgics of Virgil*, 1.31 (Thilo and Hagen (1887), *ad loc.*)** generum uero pro marito positum multi accipiunt iuxta Sappho, quae in libro, qui inscribitur *ἐπιθαλάμια*, ait "*χαῖρε νύμφα, χαῖρε τίμιε γαμβρὲ πολλά*" *ἀντὶ τοῦ* "*νυμφίε*". Many people say that *gener* ('son-in-law') is used here for 'husband', just as in Sappho, who in the book entitled 'Wedding-songs' says: 'Farewell, bride, farewell, worthy bridegroom' using *γάμβρος* (in-law) for *νυμφίος* (bridegroom).	– 'Son-in-law' used as 'husband' – Sappho fr. 116 Voigt
AD fifth century	**Damocharis** **From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 16.310 (Beckby (1957-8), vol. 4, p. 470)** (*Εἰς εἰκόνα Σαπφοῦς.*) *Αὐτή σοι πλάστειρα Φύσις παρέδωκε τυπῶσαι* *τὴν Μιτυληναίαν, ζωγράφε, Πιερίδα.* *πηγάζει τὸ διαυγὲς ἐν ὄμμασι· τοῦτο δ' ἐναργῶς* *δηλοῖ φαντασίην ἔμπλεον εὐστοχίης.* *αὐτομάτως δ' ὁμαλή τε καὶ οὐ περίεργα κομῶσα* *σὰρξ ὑποδεικνυμένην τὴν ἀφέλειαν ἔχει.*	– Painted portrait of Sappho – Sappho as Muse (a Pierian) – Bright eyes – Lively fantasy – Flesh that reveals simplicity – Muse – Cypris = Aphrodite

ἄμμιγα δ' ἐξ ἱλαροῖο καὶ ἐκ νοεροῖο προσώπου
Μοῦσαν ἀπαγγέλλει Κύπριδι μιγνυμένην.

(On a Picture of Sappho)
Nature herself, the creative artist, gave you, painter, the Pierian of Mytilene to portray. Her eyes overflow with brightness, and this clearly shows a fancy full of happy images. Her flesh, naturally smooth and not too highly coloured (?), reveals her simplicity, and the mingled gaiety and gravity of her face announces the union in her of the Muse and Cypris.

AD 491–518

Christodorus
From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 2.69–71 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 1, p. 190)

– Sappho's honorific portrait
– Sappho as Pierian bee

Πιερικὴ δὲ μέλισσα, λιγύθροος ἕζετο Σαπφὼ
Λεσβιὰς ἠρεμέουσα, μέλος δ' εὔυμνον ὑφαίνειν
σιγαλέαις δοκέεσκεν ἀναψαμένη φρένα Μούσαις.

The Pierian bee, clear-humming Lesbian Sappho, sat quietly. She seemed to be weaving a lovely melody, her mind set alight by the silent Muses.

AD 491–578

Johannes Malalas
***Chronographia* 4.5 (Thurn (2000), *ad loc.*)**

– Cecrops
– Cranaus
– Sappho's fame

ἐβασίλευσεν δὲ ὁ Κέκρωψ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔτη ν', καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσε
Κραναὸς ἔτη θ'. ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Σαπφὼ πρώτη μουσικὴ ἐγνωρίζετο.

And Cecrops ruled the Athenians for fifty years, and after him Cranaus ruled for nine years. It was at that time Sappho became known as a foremost artist.

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Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
AD floruit 562	**Paulus Silentiarius** **From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 5.246 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 1, p. 392)** *Μαλθακὰ μὲν Σαπφοῦς τὰ φιλήματα, μαλθακὰ γυίων* *πλέγματα χιονέων, μαλθακὰ πάντα μέλη,* *ψυχὴ δ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἀπειθέος· ἄχρι γὰρ οἴων* *ἔστιν ἔρως στομάτων, τἆλλα δὲ παρθενίης.* *καὶ τίς ὑποτλαίη; τάχα τις, τάχα τοῦτο ταλάσσας* *δίψαν Ταντταλέην τλήσεται εὐμαρέως.* Soft are Sappho's kisses, soft the clasp of her snowy limbs; every part of her is soft. But her heart is of unyielding adamant. Her love reaches only to her lips; the rest is virginal. Who could endure this? Perhaps, perhaps someone who endured it will endure with ease the thirst of Tantalus.	– Sappho's kisses – Sappho's white body – Sappho's virginity – Tantalus
AD *c.*fifth/sixth century	**Aristaenetus** ***Epistulae*, *Epistles*, 1.10.85–8 (Mazal (1971), *ad loc.*)** *καὶ πρὸ τῆς παστάδος τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾖδον αἱ μουσικώτεραι τῶν παρθένων καὶ μελλιχόφωνοι (τοῦτο δὴ Σαπφοῦς τὸ ᾥδιστον φθέγμα).* And in front of her chamber the maidens who were more musical and sweet voiced (to use that most lovely term of Sappho) sang the wedding song.	– Marriage – Virgins skilled in music – Sappho's word 'gentle-voiced'
AD 560–636	**Isidore of Seville** ***Etymologiae*, *Etymologies*, I.39 [7] (Lewis (2006), p. 65)** Ab inuentoribus metra appellata dicuntur, ut Anacreonticum, Sapphicum, Archilochium. Nam Anacreontica metra Anacreon conposuit; Sapphica Sappho mulier edidit; Archilochios Archilochus quidam scripsit; Colophonios Colophonius quidam exercuit. Sotadeorum quoque repertor est Sotades genere Cretensis. Simonidia quoque metra Simonides poeta lyricus conposuit.	– Anacreontic metre – Sapphic metre – Archilochian metre

Metres are said to be named for their inventors, as Anacreontic, Sapphic, Archilochian. Thus Anacreon composed Anacreontic metres, the woman Sappho produced Sapphic metres, a certain Archilochus wrote Archilochean metres, and a certain Colophonian practiced Colophonian metres. And the deviser of Sotadean metres is Sotades, a Cretan by family. And the lyric poet Simonides composed Simonidian metres.

AD *c.*810–*c.*893

Photius

***Lexicon* L, 215 (Theodoridis (1982–98), vol. 2, *ad loc.*)**

Λευκάτης· σκόπελος τῆς Ἠπείρου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ ῥίπτουσιν αὑτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ ἱερεῖς· Σαπφὼ δὲ πρώτην ἐπὶ Φάωνι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τὴν ποιήτριαν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν· ἐγένετο γὰρ ἄλλη Λεσβία ἑταίρα.

Leucates: A headland of Epirus from which the priests throw themselves into the sea. The first to do this was Sappho the poet, or as others say, the courtesan, since there was another [Sappho who was a] Lesbian courtesan.

– Leucadian leap
– A Lesbian courtesan

AD tenth century

Suda

***A*, 651 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)**

Ἀηδών. καὶ ἀηδοῦς· ὡς Σαπφὼ κατὰ Μιτυληναίους. Σοφοκλῆς· οὐδ᾽ οἰκτρᾶς γόον ὄρνιθος ἀηδοῦς ἄσει δύσμορος· ἀλλ᾽ ὀξυτόνους ᾠδὰς θρηνήσει, χερόπληκτοι δὲ στέρνοις πεσοῦνται δοῦποι. καὶ αὖθις· Οὐδ᾽ ὅσον ἀηδόνες ὑπνώουσιν. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρυπνούντων. καὶ αὖθις· ἀλλ᾽ ἐμέ γ᾽ ἁ στονόεσσ᾽ ἄραρε φρένας ἃ Ἴτυν αἰὲν ὀλοφύρεται ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα Διὸς ἄγγελος. Ἀττικῶς ἄραρέ με. αὕτη ἴση μοι ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀντὶ τοῦ σύμφωνα πράσσομεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ἡ ἀηδὼν ἕνεκα τοῦ θρηνεῖν. οἷον ἥρμοσταί μου ταῖς φρεσί, τουτέστιν ἐκείνην ζηλῶ τὴν ἀξίως τὸν Ἴτυν στενάζουσαν. Διὸς δὲ ἄγγελος ἡ ἀηδών, ὅτι τὸ ἔαρ σημαίνει ἢ ὅτι τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ Ὅμηρος· χλωρηΐς ἀηδών. ἢ ὅτι τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀγγέλλει κακὰ καὶ τὴν θρυλουμένην ἀγγελίαν καὶ τὸ πάθος. ἢ ἄγγελος οἷον τέρας τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γινόμενον εἰς τερατείαν τῆς φύσεως. καὶ Σαπφώ· ἦρος ἄγγελος ἡμερόφωνος ἀηδών. Ἀηδὼν δὲ ἀηδόνος, συστέλλει.

– Sappho as nightingale
– Sophocles
– Zeus
– Itys
– Homer
– Spring
– Cf. Sappho fr. 136 Voigt

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Aedon (nightingale). And *aedus* (irregular genitive of *aedon*): As Sappho was, according to the Mytileneans. Sophocles says: 'ill-starred, she will not sing the lament of the piteous nightingale bird, but she will sing shrill dirges and the thuds of her hands hitting fall upon her chest.' And elsewhere: 'Not even to the extent that nightingales sleep', in reference to those who lie awake. And elsewhere: 'but those sighing strains are fixed in my heart, those which the bird, the sad messenger of Zeus, always wails "Itys"'. '*Arare me*' is Attic. She herself is equal to my heart, meaning we are in harmony, the nightingale and I, on account of mourning. It is fitting to my thoughts, that is, I emulate that one sighing likewise for Itys. The nightingale is the messenger of Zeus, because it indicates spring or day-time. And Homer says: 'the greeny-brown nightingale'. Either because she announces her own miseries and her babbling message and her suffering. Or a messenger like an omen who comes from him as a marvel of nature. And Sappho says: 'spring's messenger, day-voicing nightingale.' But ἀηδών contracts ἀηδόνος (in the genitive).	
	***H*, 521 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)** *Ἤριννα, Τεῖα ἢ Λεσβία, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι Τηλία· Τῆλος δέ ἐστι νησίδιον ἐγγὺς Κνίδου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίαν αὐτὴν ἐδόξασαν. ἦν δὲ ἐποποιός. ἔγραψεν Ἠλακάτην· ποίημά δ' ἐστιν Αἰολικῇ καὶ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ, ἐπῶν τ'. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐπιγράμματα. τελευτᾷ παρθένος ἐννεακαιδεκέτις. οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἴσοι Ὁμήρῳ. ἦν δὲ ἑταίρα Σαπφοῦς καὶ ὁμόχρονος.* Erinna, Teian or Lesbian, but as others say Telian (Telos is a small island near Cnidos); but some also have thought that she was a Rhodian. She was an epic poet. She wrote 'The Distaff': it is a poem in Aeolic and Doric dialect, of 300 verses. She also made epigrams. She died a virgin 19 years old. Her verses were judged equal to Homer. She was a companion and contemporary of Sappho.	– Erinna – Telos – Epic – Erinna's 'The Distaff' – Homer – Companion and contemporary of Sappho

N, 554 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)

Νώνυμος: *ἀνώνυμος, ἄδοξος. ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐστὶν καὶ νώνυμνος πλεονασμῷ τοῦ νυ, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κατὰ στέρησιν ε ψιλῆς, ἵν' ᾖ ὁ μὴ ὑμνούμενος. οὐδέ τις ἔσται τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἠέλιος.*

Nonymos: Nameless, unknown. In the *Iliad* also '*nonymnos*' with a superfluous nu, or otherwise with loss of epsilon, to mean someone not hymned: 'There will be no sun unhymned by lyric Sappho.'

- Greek vocabulary
- *Iliad*
- Sappho's hymns to the sun

P, 211 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)

Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα: ὀβελίσκοι ἐν Δελφοῖς πολλοί. Ἀπελλᾶς δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς οἴεται καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πυραμίδα, Ἡροδότου ἐλέγχοντος τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ Θρᾳσσα τὸ γένος, ἐδούλευσε δὲ σὺν Αἰσώπῳ Ἄδμονι Μιτυληναίῳ, ἐλυτρώσατο δὲ αὐτὴν Χάραξος, ὁ Σαπφοῦς ἀδελφός. ἡ δὲ Σαπφὼ Δωρίχαν αὐτὴν καλεῖ.

Rhodopis' offering: Many obelisks in Delphi. But Apellas of Pontus thinks that it also refers to a pyramid in Egypt—despite the fact that Herodotus refutes the opinion. She was a Thracian by birth, but was enslaved with Aesop to [I]admon of Mytilene, before Charaxos, Sappho's brother, ransomed her. Sappho calls her Doricha.

- Rhodopis
- Obelisks
- Apelles of Pontos
- Pyramids
- Herodotus
- Aesop
- Idamon of Mytilene
- Charaxus
- Doricha

Σ 107 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)

Σαπφώ, Σίμωνος, οἱ δὲ Εὐμήνου, οἱ δὲ Ἠριγύου, οἱ δὲ Ἐκρύτου, οἱ δὲ Σήμου, οἱ δὲ Κάμωνος, οἱ δὲ Ἐτάρχου, οἱ δὲ Σκαμανδρωνύμου· μητρὸς δὲ Κλειδός· Λεσβία ἐξ Ἐρεσσοῦ, λυρική, γεγονυῖα κατὰ τὴν μβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς, Λάριχος, Χάραξος, Εὐρύγιος. ἐγαμήθη δὲ ἀνδρὶ Κερκύλᾳ πλουσιωτάτῳ, ὁρμωμένῳ ἀπὸ Ἄνδρου, καὶ θυγατέρα ἐποιήσατο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἣ Κλεὶς ὠνομάσθη. ἑταῖραι δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ φίλαι γεγόνασι τρεῖς, Ἀτθίς, Τελεσίππα, Μεγάρα· πρὸς ἃς καὶ διαβολὴν ἔσχεν αἰσχρᾶς

- Possible names of Sappho's father:
- Simon
- Eumenus
- Eurygius
- Ecrytus
- Semus
- Camon
- Etarchus

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	φιλίας. μαθήτριαι δὲ αὐτῆς Ἀναγόρα Μιλησία, Γογγύλα Κολοφωνία, Εὐνείκα Σαλαμινία. ἔγραψε δὲ μελῶν λυρικῶν βιβλία θ′. καὶ πρώτη πλῆκτρον εὗρεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ μονῳδίας.	– Scamandronymus – Cleis (mother) – Eresus
	Sappho, daughter of Simon, but according to others, of Eumenus or of Eerigyius or of Ecrytus or of Semus or of Camon or of Etarchus or of Scamandronymus; her mother was Cleis: a Lesbian from Eresus, a lyric poetess; flourished in the forty-second Olympiad (612/608 BC), when Alcaeus, Stesichorus, and Pittacus were also alive. She had three brothers, Larichus, Charaxus, and Eurygius. She was married to a very wealthy man called Cercylas, who traded from Andros, and she had a daughter by him, called Cleis. She had three companions and friends, Atthis, Telesippa, and Megara, and she got a bad name for her impure friendship with them. Her pupils were Anagora of Miletus, Gongyla of Colophon, and Eunica of Salamis. She wrote nine books of lyric poems, and she invented the plectrum. She also wrote epigrams, elegiacs, iambics, and solo songs.	– forty-second Olympiad – Alcaeus – Stestichorus – Pittacus – Larichus – Charaxus – Eurygius – Cercylas – Cleis (daughter) – Atthis – Telesippa – Megara – Homoerotics – Anagora of Miletus – Gongyla of Colophon – Eunica of Salamis – Nine books – Invention of the plectrum – Epigrams – Elegiacs – Iambics – Monody

Σ 108 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)

Σαπφώ, Λεσβία ἐκ Μιτυλήνης, ψάλτρια. αὕτη δι᾽ ἔρωτα Φάωνος τοῦ Μιτυληναίου ἐκ τοῦ Λευκάτου κατεπόντωσεν ἑαυτήν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ταύτης εἶναι λυρικὴν ἀνέγραψαν ποίησιν.

Sappho, a Lesbian from Mytilene, a lyre-player. This Sappho leapt from the cliff of Leucates and drowned herself for love of Phaon the Mytilenaean. Some have registered that she too made lyric poetry.

– Mytilene
– Sappho the lyre-player = not the famous poet
– Leap from Leucas
– Phaon

Φ, 89 (Adler (1928), *ad loc.*)

Φάων: φασὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρασμίων καὶ ὑπερηφάνων. τοῦ γὰρ Φάωνος ἐρασθῆναί φασι σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ Σαπφώ, οὐ τὴν ποιήτριαν, ἀλλὰ Λεσβίαν, καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσαν ῥῖψαι ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας.

Phaon: The name is used for those who are desirable but arrogant. For they say that Phaon was loved by Sappho, as well as by many others—not Sappho the poetess, but a Lesbian woman—and when she was rejected, she threw herself from the Leucadian rock.

– Phaon as attractive and arrogant
– Sappho = not the poet
– Leap from Leucas

Sometime before AD tenth century

Anonymous
From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 6.269 ((1957–8), vol. 1, p. 606)

ΩΣ ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ

Παῖδες, ἄφωνος ἐοῖσα τότ᾽ ἐννέπω, αἵ τις ἔρηται,
φωνὰν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρὸ ποδῶν·
“Αἰθοπίᾳ με κόρᾳ Λατοῦς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρίστα
Ἑρμοκλειδαία τῶ Σαϋναϊάδα,
σὰ πρόπολος, δέσποινα γυναικῶν· ᾇ σὺ χαρεῖσα
πρόφρων ἀμετέραν εὐκλέισον γενεάν.”

– Arista
– Hermoclides
– Sauneus
– Artemis Aethopia

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	Said to be by Sappho: Children, though I am a dumb stone, if any ask, then I answer clearly, having set down at my feet the words I am never weary of speaking: 'Arista, daughter of Hermoclides the son of Sauneus, dedicated me to Artemis Aethopia. Your ministrant is she, sovereign lady of women; rejoice in this her gift of herself, and be willing to glorify our race.'	
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.184 (Beckby (1957-8), vol. 3, p. 114) *Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρὴν* *Βακχυλίδη Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες* *γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὁμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα* *ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,* *ἥ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σελὶς ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς* *Ἴβυκε καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε* *καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων* *ἔσπεισεν πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,* *θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἵλατε, πάσης* *ἀρχὴν οἳ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.* Pindar, holy mouth of the Muses, and you, Bacchylides, garrulous Siren, and you, Aeolian graces of Sappho; writing of Anacreon, and you, Stesichorus, who in your works drew off Homer's stream; honeyed page of Simonides, and you, Ibycus, who culled the sweet bloom of Persuasion and of the love of boys; sword of Alcaeus, that did often shed the blood of tyrants, defending his country's laws, and you nightingales of Alcman, singing ever of maidens; look kindly on me, you authors and finishers of all lyric song.	– Pindar as the holy mouthpiece of the Muses – Bacchylides as Siren – Sappho's Aeolian Graces – Anacreon's pen – Stesichorus – Simonides' honeyed page – Ibycus' rhetoric and homoeroticism – Alcaeus' sword – Alcman's nightingales

From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.190 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 118)

- Erinna's Lesbian honeycomb
- Honey of the Muses
- Homer
- Spinning and weaving both tapestries and songs
- Compared with Sappho

Λέσβιον Ἠρίννης τόδε κηρίον· εἰ δέ τι μικρόν,
ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐκ Μουσέων κιρνάμενον μέλιτι.
οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἶσοι Ὁμήρῳ,
τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς·
ἣ καὶ ἐπ' ἠλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἣ καὶ ἐφ' ἱστῷ
ἑστήκει Μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαπτομένη.
Σαπφὼ δ' Ἠρίννης ὅσσον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,
Ἤριννα Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.

This is the Lesbian honeycomb of Erinna, and though it may be small, it is all infused with honey by the Muses. Her three hundred lines are equal to Homer, though she was but a child of 19 years. Either plying her spindle in fear of her mother, or at the loom, she stood occupied in the service of the Muses. As much as Sappho excels Erinna in lyrics, so much does Erinna excel Sappho in hexameters.

From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.521 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 318)

- Sappho's death-defying fame

(*Εἰς Σαπφὼ παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν*)
Οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε ὄλιζον ἐπὶ κλέος ὤπασε Μοῖρα
ἤματι, τῷ πρώτῳ φῶς ἴδες ἀελίου,
Σαπφοῖ· σοὶ γὰρ ῥῆσιν ἐνεύομεν ἄφθιτον εἶμεν,
σὺν δὲ πατὴρ πάντων νεῦσεν ἐρισφάραγος·
μέλψῃ δ' ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀοίδιμος ἀμερίοισιν
οὐδὲ κλυτᾶς φάμας ἔσσεαι ἠπεδανά.

(The Muses to Sappho)
No little fame, Sappho, did Fate grant you on the day you first saw the sun. For we consented that your utterances should be immortal, and the Father of all, the

(*continued*)

Dateline	Author, text, and/or quoted in	Keywords
	loud Thunderer, approved. All men shall sing you, and you shall not lack glorious report.	
	From *Anthologia Palatina*, *The Greek Anthology*, 9.571 (Beckby (1957–8), vol. 3, p. 348) *Ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ* *ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω·* *λάμπει Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν·* *λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης·* *Πειθὼ Ἀνακρείοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' αὐδᾷ* *Ἀλκαῖος, κύκνος Λέσβιος, Αἰολίδι.* *ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς* *ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.* Pindar screamed loud from Thebes, the Muse of Simonides breathed delight with her sweet-strained voice, Stesichorus and Ibycus shine, Alcman was sweet, and Bacchylides' lips uttered dainty song, Persuasion attended on Anacreon, Lesbian Alcaeus sings varied strains on the Aeolian. But Sappho was not the ninth among men, but is tenth in the list of the lovely Muses.	– Pindar – Thebes – Simonides – Stesichorus – Ibycus – Alcman – Bacchylides – Anacreon – Alcaeus – Sappho, the tenth Muse
	From Scholia metrica vetera in Pindari Carmina, *Pythian Ode 1* (Tessier (1989), *ad loc.*) *τὸ γ' ἑνδεκασύλλαβον Σαπφικόν, ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γεγραμμένον.* The third (colon) is a Sapphic hendecasyllable, in which the whole of Sappho's first book is written.	– Hendecasyllable – Sappho Book 1

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